

JUNE 22, 1987

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TIME

Maggie
Makes It
3

Who's Bringing Up Baby?

With both Mom
and Dad at work,
the big problem
is finding quality
child care



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COVER: With both Mom and Dad at work, America faces a child-care crisis

The demand for day care is exploding as women pour into the U.S. work force. But parents are finding that child care is scarce, expensive and often of alarmingly poor quality. Some states have taken action; most have not. Meanwhile, researchers are raising worrisome questions about the psychological well-being of the child-care generation. See LIVING.

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WORLD: Britain's Margaret Thatcher triumphs with a record third term

Though down from their 1983 high, the Tories capture a 101-seat majority, enough to help the Iron Lady in her campaign to "destroy socialism" in Britain. ► A TIME interview with the Prime Minister. ► On a visit to his native Poland, the Pope invokes the legacy of the outlawed Solidarity labor movement. ► A U.S. plan to give Pakistan AWACS planes flies into trouble.

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SHOW BUSINESS: In a hail of bullets, *The Untouchables* storms the box office

This sleek retelling of the war between Chicago Ganglord Al Capone and Supercop Eliot Ness has all the right lures: ripe violence, tough guys in chic suits, the triumph of good over venal. No wonder it looks to be a summer smash. It is also a surprise hit for the film's pricey talent: Director Brian De Palma, Screenwriter David Mamet and Stars Robert De Niro and Sean Connery.

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18 Nation

At the economic summit in Venice, Ronald Reagan is upstaged by an absent adversary, Mikhail Gorbachev. ► Fawn Hall reveals details of a cover-up at the end of the first phase of the Iran-*contra* hearings. ► A sharp tongue may be Democratic Presidential Candidate Joe Biden's greatest asset—as well as his greatest liability.

46 Economy & Business

Back to the future for United Airlines. ► Congress takes on corporate America. ► Crops rot as migrant workers lie low.

73 Books
In *Empire*, Gore Vidal continues to rewrite American history with charm and naughty wit. ► Martin Amis' nuclear forebodings.

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The Supreme Court makes land-use planning more costly for zoners. ► An expensive settlement for the New York *Daily News*.

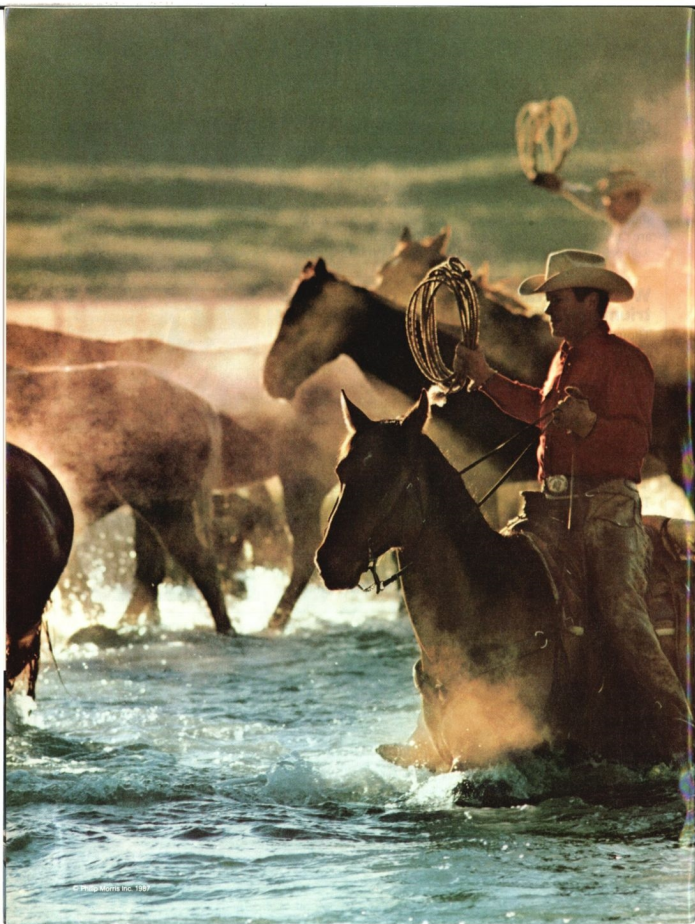
80 Sport
As Isiah Thomas and Al Campanis have testified, a thread of color winds through baseball, basketball and all the playgrounds.

69 Education
Among the subjects of 1987's commencement talks: nuclear weapons, civil rights, the man shortage, hugging and Italian restaurants.

83 Essay
The U.S. should not act alone in the Persian Gulf, critics say. Why not? Should Washington wait for Europe? The U.N.? The Soviets?

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Cover:
Photograph by
Jade Albert



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A Letter from the Publisher

Mothers and fathers who work at TIME are no strangers to long hours. Like the parents in this week's cover stories on America's child-care crisis, they must grapple with the question "Who's watching the kids?" The consensus among TIME staffers about the subject's importance stems partly from the fact that it touches each of us, either directly or through colleagues and friends. "The workplace has changed, and the lack of good child care hurts everyone, men included," says Senior Editor Walter Isaacson, who edited the cover.

Finding good child care is difficult, but TIME staffers are resourceful. "It takes investigating," says Picture Researcher Dorothy Affa, whose son John, 2, shuttles between a neighbor and his grandmother on workdays. Reporter-Researcher Lois Gilman, mother of Seth, 8, and Eve, 7, learned firsthand about the need for a guide that includes child-care resources. The result: *The New York Parents' Book: Your Guide to Raising Children in the City*, due soon from Penguin Books.

Despite the most careful child-care arrangements, needs can affect TIME parents at work. Nation Head Reporter-Researcher Ursula Nadassy often fields homework calls on the job from



Parents Elmer-DeWitt, Nadassy, Gilman and friends

Daughter Alexandra. TIME's Olivia Stewart drives from her San Francisco office to Oakland during lunch to ferry her daughter from summer school to the afternoon sitter. Says Atlanta Reporter Joyce Leviton: "These working mothers are the heroines of our time." Nadassy rejects the supermom tag. "My success depends on my family's support and love," she says. Mothers are not alone in doing double duty. Staff Writer Philip Elmer-DeWitt regularly cooks breakfast for his two-year-old daughter Elizabeth, while Wife Mary gets some extra shut-eye. "It's my favorite part of the day," he says. "I get more time with Lizzie than most fathers do with their daughters."

Still, no one has it easy. For Associate Editor Claudia Wallis, who wrote the main story, long days apart from her ten-month-old son Nathaniel are hard. "There's an enormous tug at your heart come the end of the day," she says. "because there's this little person you want to see, and who wants to see you." One plus about a tug at the heart: it beats a crack of the whip as an incentive to get the job done and get home.

Robert L. Miller

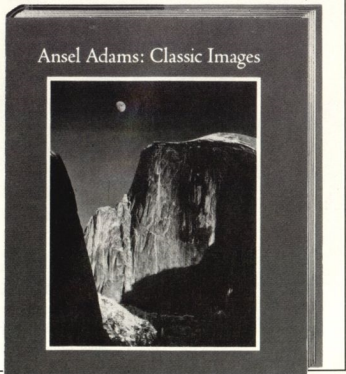
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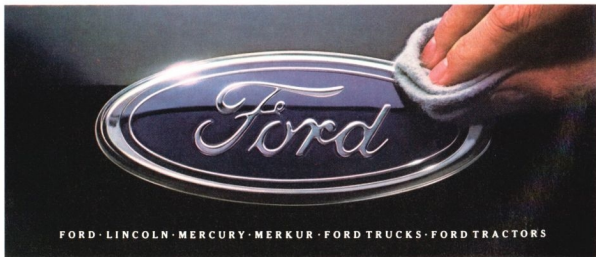
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Letters

Missile Strike

To the Editors:

Many Americans are reacting with frustration to the attack on the U.S.S. *Stark* by an Iraqi plane [NATION, June 11]. It is time this country took some action and ignored the opinion of the rest of the world. We can no longer dismiss these incidents as accidents. America should react in a way befitting a superpower.

Justin Kirchhofer
Westerville, Ohio



By selling weapons to Iran, the U.S. left itself open to the strike against the *Stark*. It is easy to see why Iraq attacked the frigate. American weapons are killing Iraqis. Instead of promoting peace, our Government sows war and destruction, and for this we Americans suffer the hatred and scorn of the rest of the world.

Gilbert Noble
Kula, Hawaii

Why does the U.S. appoint itself the guardian of free passage of oil through the gulf? The incident with the *Stark* should teach the Reagan Administration not to poke its nose wherever it likes.

Peter O. Oula
Nairobi

In referring to the strike against the *Stark*, President Reagan said the 37 sailors killed did not die in vain. My definition of "dying in vain" includes being killed in your bed without knowing you are in danger and without firing a shot. In the future, whenever the U.S. undertakes a mission into a hostile area, the Government should plan for the inevitable risks. Let's leave senseless martyrdom to others.

Howard F. Bowles Jr.
Newtown, Conn.

Matter of Ethics

At the root of the problem with American behavior [ETHICS, May 25] is a disdain for moral absolutes. The seeds of relativism were planted in the 19th and

20th centuries by thinkers like Einstein, Darwin and Freud and nourished in the '60s with the breakdown of the Judeo-Christian moral consensus. The harvest of this situation is the self-indulgence without accountability that we see today in Reagan's America.

(The Rev.) Scott Rae
Newport Beach, Calif.

I found in your discussion titled "What's Wrong" not indignation at the vacuum of values we have in the '80s but a shot at President Reagan. Materialism and corruption have been with all nations for a long time. Crooks have been punished and phonies exposed, but to mention names like Boesky and Bakker in the same breath with Meese and Reagan is exactly what is wrong with your story.

Bernard Wagner
Hamburg, West Germany

You should not have included James Watt in your rogues' gallery of Reagan Administration officials who faced allegations of questionable activities. The former Secretary of the Interior was guilty of nothing more than political naivete.

Louis McChord
Tacoma

Perhaps the most glaring flaw in your story is the reference to former Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan's trial as evidence of moral decay in high places. The result of the Donovan trial, wherein he was acquitted, only underscores your total lack of sensitivity. You treated him as if he were guilty while the jury was deliberating on that very issue.

Fred I. Parker
Middlebury, Vt.

You have lumped together pictures of persons convicted of serious crimes, persons on trial, persons under indictment, persons under investigation and persons against whom "allegations" have been made. What ever happened to the common-law presumption that someone is innocent until proved guilty?

John T. Noonan Jr.
U.S. Circuit Judge
Ninth Circuit
San Francisco

You cite ethical lapses in officials in government, finance, religion and the military. You point a finger at businessmen, educators, physicians, lawyers and almost every other segment of our society except publishers and editors. If you spent time researching your own profession, you would surely find an equivalent or even larger portion of it involved in the same activities you condemn in other fields.

Rudy E. Small
Green Bay, Wis.

If Americans would concern themselves more with morality and worry less about the sexual behavior of their politi-



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Letters

rians, they would impeach Reagan for the Iran-contra arms sale and forgive Gary Hart his venial sins.

*Oscar Uzin Fernández
Cochabamba, Bolivia*

Jews Under Pétain

Elie Wiesel in his article on the Klaus Barbie trial [ESSAY, May 11] says, "France under Pétain fully collaborated with Hitler's Germany." I must disagree with the word *fully*. If this were so, why were the French Jews in the Vichy-controlled territory not ordered to wear the Star of David as in other Nazi-controlled countries? And why was the percentage of deported French Jews so much lower than that of other occupied countries?

*John H. Weidner
Head, Dutch-Paris Escape Line
Monterey Park, Calif.*

Wyeth's Worth

The review of Andrew Wyeth's Helga pictures [ART, June 1] was mean and snide, as well as a put-down of the public for liking Wyeth so much. Wyeth's art is less about art and everything about the earth and its forces. That is why it is great art and why people are so moved by his work.

*Ted Browning
West Chester, Pa.*

Andrew Wyeth is the Bruce Springsteen of the art world: mediocrity passed off as magnificence.

*Gerald M. Levitt
Philadelphia*

Your contemptible review of Wyeth places Critic Robert Hughes in the East Coast art world's anti-Wyeth cartel. The fraud lies not with Wyeth but rather with the prejudice inherent in the critics of the Eastern art establishment.

*Ron Brady
New York City*

As usual, Hughes' eloquence in observing the art world is very exciting and provocative. But Mr. Hughes, please have a heart. The Helga pictures are fun and have an earthy appeal. Can we help it that we know what we like?

*Joan Rotundo
Sauguit, N.Y.*

Unwanted Rapist

How can we justify a system in which a convicted rapist who hacked off the forearms of his victim is considered to have "paid his legal debt to society" after serving "nearly eight years of a 14-year four-month sentence" [NATION, June 1]? Have rape and mutilation become so commonplace that they are treated like a traffic offense?

*Elfriede H. Kristwald-Kalfelz
Atlanta*

Boring Process

Yes, Britain has a winner-take-all electoral system [WORLD, June 1], but so does the U.S. The difference is that the British settle the matter in 24 days, while we devote 24 hours a day, month after month, to tangling, wangling and wrangling before we can reach a decision. For sheer boredom and lack of productivity, it is hard to beat the American system.

*John F. Elsbree
Brighton, Mass.*

Competing with Airbus

We appreciated your comprehensive article on the commercial aircraft industry [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, May 11]. However, the allegation that Airbus Industrie discounts its prices 15% to 25% below its competitors' is off the mark. Airbus Industrie makes competitive proposals. Sometimes Airbus wins; other times it loses. In the same vein, your juxtaposition of the Boeing 747, priced at \$120 million, with the Airbus Industrie A340, priced at \$80 million, is a classic case of comparing apples with oranges. The Boeing 747 is an extremely large, 450-plus-passenger aircraft. The Airbus Industrie A340 is a much smaller aircraft, with a passenger capacity of less than 300.

*Alan S. Boyd, Chairman
Airbus Industrie of North America, Inc.
Herndon, Va.*

Soviet Guilt

Reader Alexei Perevoschikov, a representative of the Novosti Press Agency in Moscow, stated [LETTERS, May 25], "The Soviet Union demands the punishment of war criminals, for whom it recognizes no statute of limitations. . . ." We will believe this statement if the Soviet Union begins to punish its own war criminals. The Soviet Union concluded a treaty with Hitler and, with Nazi permission, occupied the Baltic States and part of Poland. Only when Moscow re-establishes independence in these countries will confidence in the Soviet Union be restored.

*(Msgr.) Joseph Prunskis
Information Director
Lithuanian American Council
Chicago*

So the Soviet Union is always ready to present the necessary information about Nazi war crimes. That is not true. What about the Soviets' refusal to admit guilt in the Katyn Forest massacre, where more than 4,400 Polish officers were killed during World War II?

*Adam Solhan
Alvsjö, Sweden*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.



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American Scene

In Vermont: A Spiritual Leader's Farewell



Chogyam Trungpa, born in the mountains of Tibet, rose as smoke from a meadow in Vermont, while long horns blew and children played

The night of my conception," wrote Chogyam Trungpa, who would be cremated in a Vermont mountain meadow before a sizable audience in the spring of this year, "my mother had a very significant dream that a being had entered her body with a flash of light; that year flowers bloomed in the neighborhood although it was still winter."

In his autobiography, *Born in Tibet*, Trungpa went on to say he was delivered in a cattle byre in February 1939, and that on that day a rainbow was seen and a water pail was found unaccountably full of milk. When he died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, last April 4, leaving eleven published books, five sons and a widow, Trungpa, who was called Rinpoche (a Tibetan honorific meaning precious one) by thousands of his Buddhist students, a remarkable odyssey came to a close—at least in this life. The journey actually began months before Rinpoche's birth, when a holy man died. "The monks of Surmang were feeling lost without their abbot," Rinpoche wrote, "and were eager that his reincarnation should be found without delay." After a vision and a sign or two, the Rinpoche baby was found and rather swiftly proclaimed the chosen one. The peasant infant became the spiritual boy king.

It was a quiet life until 1959, when Rinpoche, like the Dalai Lama, fled the country in the face of Chinese takeover. Rinpoche spent two years in India, then four in England at Oxford University, then moved on to Scotland to found a meditation center. In 1969, he relinquished his monastic vows. The next year, he married a 16-year-old Englishwoman, Diana Judith Pybus. The nuptial move drew criticism from lama quarters.

Now it came to pass that in America in 1970 there was a generation of young people who were in the habit of attending

loosely programmed outdoor chapel meetings known here and there as love-ins, be-ins or demonstrations and punctuated, more or less, with the admonition, "Peace and love, pass it on." That was the year that Rinpoche came to these shores, taking off like a Roman candle lit at both ends. He traveled and taught indefatigably, setting up scores of urban meditation and study centers, the two most prominent in Boulder and in Barnet, Vt. He had tapped a vein. A section of what used to be called the counterculture desired a guru, and here he was in the flesh. By 1975, after the establishment in Boulder of the Naropa Institute, a liberal arts college, his imprimatur was everywhere. One could stick pins in a map, connect the dots and, with apologies to Amtrak, call it the Angst Express. The confused came to be made sound.

Some of these people would have fallen for a shaman, any fool who claimed, say, he could bend spoons with his mind. But Rinpoche was not a charlatan. By all accounts, he was brilliant, he was the real thing. The easiest conclusion to draw, looking from the outside in, is that he was an astute businessman. His devotees ran to the upper middle class, white, with impressive academic credentials. They dressed like Dharma bums in the beginning, but soon the teacher had them shaved, suited and cravated. If they did not exactly turn their pockets inside out for their teacher—and some did—they made good fund raisers. Moreover, he encouraged them to be all they could be, in their professions as well as their heads. Successful executives, lawyers, doctors, dentists, shrinkers, anthropologists, poets (Allen Ginsberg), novelists (William Burroughs) and composers (John Cage) dogeared his card in their Rolodexes. Even the selection of Boulder as a center was a commercial brainstorm; it is a mecca for

vagabond children with trust funds. He lived as ostentatiously as a televangelist—though not as tastefully.

His teachings are harder to get a bead on, from the outside looking in. Cerebral, for one thing, which explains the attraction to an educated crowd. Pressed for specifics, his students tend to develop a moist eye, a bemused grin, an air of higher enlightenment and a condescending kiss-off: "Really too complicated to go into in depth." Certain words get great play: compassion, creativity, generosity, grace, humor, kindness, love, sanity, scholarship. It is, say religious scholars, more of a method than a religion. The relationship between teacher and student is similar to that between psychiatrist and patient, goes one definition. There has to be full trust, otherwise nothing is accomplished. "It's a particular type of religious devotion," says a former student of Rinpoche's, "where you surrender all your critical faculties to a guru." Whatever it is, initiates have a tendency to tell uninitiates, it is inexplicable unless one is an initiate. This is when Frank Sinatra used to come in with a line like "Hey, whatever gets you through the night."

In any event, years passed, the Rinpoche influence spread, and a new headquarters was established in Nova Scotia. Now and then there was bad press. A party in Colorado got rough. Rinpoche forced a couple to disrobe. Everyone later disrobed. No charges were brought. No one denied the published reports. One of the Buddhists there said it was a preparation for giving up privacy, learning to cut through ego clinging and fixation. Rinpoche said essentially it was no big deal. He drank a prodigious amount of alcohol, bedded many women, never denied either. It was "enlightened drinking," "en-



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American Scene

lightened sex." There was never a PTL-style scandal. It was simply The Way. In the end, the official Buddhist-reported cause of death was cardiac arrest and respiratory failure; the unofficial version was cirrhosis. There was no autopsy. Some, nay, many, said he drank a gallon of sake a day. They placed the body in the meditative position, packed it in salt and flew it to Vermont in a chartered Canadian Pacific Boeing 737. Until May 26, students meditated with the corpse.

"He was one of the most important Buddhist teachers of our generation," said David I. Rome, president of Schocken Books Inc., a New York City publishing company, and for many years secretary to Rinpoche, "because of the transitional role he played in transplanting this 2,600-year-old religion to the West—without compromising the religion, the depth of the religion." And yes, said Rome, "we definitely expect him to come back and beseech him to come back, but just as in his life he did things in unexpected ways, we cannot expect him to mind a timetable."

There was ground fog the morning they carried the body up the mountain, following a bagpiper in Erskine tartan and Tibetans blowing horns as long as young pines and scarlet-berobed monks, to a meadow quilted with dandelions and buttercups and 3,000 or so of the American middle class, their babies in Kreuger & Son slings on their backs. Behind the corpse, which was borne in a wood-frame box wrapped in silk, came visiting lamas, borne in big cars, or lamasines, as one wag had it. "Our understanding," one after another in the crowd said, and happily so, "is that though the body of the teacher has died and will be consumed by the flames, his mind still exists and will pervade all of space."

They placed the body in an ornate 25-ft.-high kiln, so to speak, made of fire-brick. The body was wrapped with gauze and covered with ghee, or clarified butter. All around the people were not exactly somber—"It is primarily a sad event," a spokesman had said, "but it is also a celebration for our teacher"—but there was no undue hilarity, no dope, no booze, no Woodstock feel, though everybody said the vibes were good. The weather was spectacular, warm and caressing. Children gamboled in the wildflowers.

They touched off a cannon about noon and fired the crematorium, sending dark smoke into the clean blue sky. "He would have loved this," said one of the directors from Halifax. When the flames burned low, there were rainbows round the sun, and the clouds the smoke had formed were multicolored. A student said she wouldn't be surprised if they had put chemicals on the fire.

"For a holy man he was utterly unpredictable," said Rome. "If he were here, he would do something unexpected. He was that spontaneous." —By Gregory Jaynes

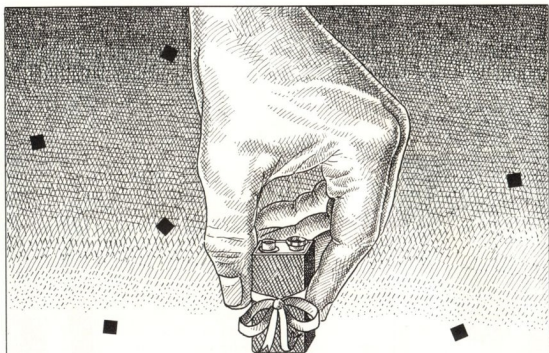
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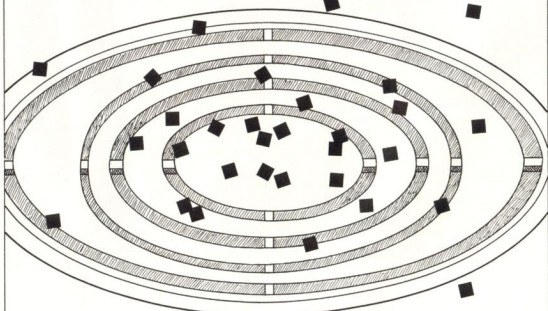
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TIME/JUNE 22, 1987

Back To the Wall

Reagan rallies with a strong speech

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"Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.

"Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this Wall."

It was a determined challenge, delivered Friday by Ronald Reagan with his back to the Berlin Wall, across from the Brandenburg Gate in Communist East Germany. But the necessity the President felt to remind West Berliners, of all people, that the Soviet leader still commands a totalitarian society underscored a melancholy aspect of Reagan's nine-day journey through Western Europe. For all his eloquence, the aging President was repeatedly upstaged by the youthful and suavely dynamic image of the man who was not there: Mikhail Gorbachev.

When Reagan met with the leaders of the non-Communist world's seven principal industrial powers last week in Venice, almost the entire opening dinner was taken up by an animated—and inconclusive—discussion of Gorbachev's arms-control maneuvers and campaign for *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring) within the Soviet Union. At a press conference after the summit, a reporter reminded the President of polls showing that West Europeans put more faith in Gorbachev than in Reagan as a leader working for peace. Reagan replied, correctly, that the prospective agreement to rid Europe of intermediate-range nuclear missiles is based on proposals he made four years ago.

Even Reagan's presence in Berlin at

A challenge to open the Brandenburg Gate



REAGAN: JIM SPELLMAN/REUTERS

the close of his trip was in part a response to Gorbachev. The Soviet leader visited the eastern half of the divided city three weeks ago. Some U.S. planners feared, wrongly, that Gorbachev would make a sensational proposal to reunify Germany. They thought the President would have to deliver a reply.

That proved unnecessary, but the grim Wall nonetheless provided a dramatic backdrop for Reagan's attempt to reassert leadership of the Western alliance. Before an audience estimated at 20,000, the President rose to the occasion. Referring to the city's division and deliberately inviting comparison with John F. Kennedy's famed "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" speech in 1963, Reagan expressed "this unalterable belief: *es gibt nur ein Berlin*" (there is only one Berlin). Taking note of the violent demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy that swirled through West Berlin before his arrival, Reagan asserted, "I invite those who protest today to mark this fact: because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table" and are on the verge of a treaty "eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons."

Reagan in effect invited Gorbachev to prove he means his protestations of peace. Said the President: "Now the Soviets themselves may in a limited way be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. . . . Are these the beginnings of profound change in the Soviet Union? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West or to strengthen the Soviet Union without changing it?" At that point Reagan issued his challenge to Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall.

It was a strong performance but not quite enough to erase the impression that Reagan is losing the initiative to his Soviet rival. For months before the President's trip, West European polls have been telling a distressing story. Whether the sur-

veys are taken in Britain, West Germany, France, Italy or various combinations of countries, they have yielded consistent results: more West Europeans are looking to Gorbachev than to Reagan for leadership toward disarmament. In a poll sponsored by the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* and published last week, residents of nine European nations were asked which superpower leader was working harder to stop the arms race: 32% said Gorbachev, vs. only 11% who chose Reagan (44% saw no difference).

As the Venice summit promptly made clear, Reagan's efforts to exert his leadership are severely handicapped. Europeans readily acknowledge that in arms negotiations American military power far overshadows that of any other ally: indeed, U.S. defense spending (\$289 billion last year) is more than half the size of Britain's entire gross domestic product (\$547 billion in 1986). But in economic matters, the crippling U.S. budget and trade deficits cause America to appear as a supplicant rather than a confident leader. The \$170 billion shortfall in trade last year made the U.S. the world's largest debtor nation. A Western diplomat in Venice said bluntly, "The strategy of the U.S. at the summit does not take into account its declining economic power."

Venice afforded most allied leaders their first close-up look at Reagan since the Iran-*contra* scandal broke, and they were distressed by what they saw. The 76-year-old President appeared visibly older and slower, physically and mentally. He dismayed several heads of government by reading from index cards during informal gatherings, something he had not done at previous summits. Compared with his performance at the Tokyo summit last year, said a French diplomat, the President "seemed much less at ease, much more hesitant."

To be sure, Reagan was not the only

weakened leader in Venice. Wits went too far in talking about a "lame-duck summit." West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was re-elected in January, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was on the verge of winning a third term, and French President François Mitterrand has recouped his popularity. But Prime Ministers Amintore Fanfani of Italy and Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan are due to step down soon, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is in severe political trouble at home. No wonder that their deliberations in a 17th century monastery on the island of San Giorgio Maggiore, hard by the Grand Canal, came to be christened the "Bland Canal" summit.

The only touch of grandeur was in the security precautions. Venice's famed gondolas were banned from the quays around St. Mark's Square for four days, and the waters off San Giorgio swarmed with what looked like an invasion force of police boats. Police were so omnipresent, their automatic weapons conspicuously at the ready, that tourists and Venetians alike grumbled that the city was under virtual occupation by armed men.

Reagan promised to consider the summit a success, but he had little to back up his claim. On the subject of the Persian Gulf, for example, the seven issued a general statement championing "freedom of navigation." There was not a word of specific support for the U.S. plan to register Kuwaiti tankers under the American flag and have U.S. warships escort them through the gulf. The Americans made much afterward of the warships that Britain and France for some time have maintained in the gulf, but the U.S. got nothing new from its allies. In a joint statement on a topic new to summit communiqués, AIDS, the seven never mentioned any need for expanded testing, despite Reagan's advocacy of it at home. At one of the dinners, Reagan thought he heard Kohl tell him that West Germany would not extradite

Venice summiters: Wilfried Martens and Jacques Delors, Nakasone, Thatcher, Reagan, Fanfani, Mitterrand, Kohl, Mulroney

SPACE-BLACK STAR



Mohammed Ali Hamadei to the U.S. for trial. Hamadei, arrested in Frankfurt in January, is suspected of the 1985 hijacking of a TWA jet and the murder of one of its passengers, U.S. Navy Diver Robert Stethem. Aides later ascertained that Kohl had actually said no decision had been made and coupled that with an assurance that if Hamadei is tried and convicted in West Germany, he will get a stiff prison sentence. That was not the rebuff Reagan thought it was, but neither was it what the President wanted to hear.

On economics, the ostensible subject of the summit, Treasury Secretary James Baker remarked, "I can't think of any major item . . . that we came here wanting that we did not get." True, but only because the U.S. knew better than to press the other six for any strong action. Washington had hoped that Japan and West Germany would move to stimulate their domestic economies to ward off a growing threat of world recession and, not incidentally, reduce their towering trade surpluses, which are the counterpart of the U.S. deficit. Japan did announce a stimulative package before the summit, but Britain's Thatcher judged it insufficient. Kohl, harking back to a metaphor from past summits, declared flatly that West Germany "will not be the locomotive" for world economic growth.

The U.S. did win agreement that the seven would keep close watch on a set of economic indicators in each country and



Protesters battle with police before Reagan's arrival in West Berlin

The President's problem: polls show that Gorbachev is more trusted than he is.

consult when growth in any of the seven appeared to be veering far off target. Although Reagan hailed this as a victory, the agreement contained no commitment for anybody to do anything.

The U.S. fared better at a NATO foreign ministers meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, that immediately followed the summit. The 16 countries approved the so-called double-zero plan under which the U.S. and the Soviet Union would scrap all intermediate-range (600 miles to 3,400 miles) and short-range (300 miles to 600 miles) nuclear missiles in Europe. Their communiqué did not even hint at the agonizing intra-European debate over whether this move would make the Continent more vulnerable to Soviet invasion.

The NATO decision brings closer the first agreement to reduce nuclear arsenals. But Secretary of State George Shultz remains cautious. "Problems of veri-

fication are very complex," he said in Reykjavik. The U.S. and the Soviets, he added, "are both into discussing things that haven't been done before."

Reagan was more optimistic at his Venice press conference, indicating that "there is an increased opportunity for a summit" and giving Gorbachev credit for wanting a missile pact. Said Reagan: "He is faced with an economic problem in his country that has been aggravated by the military buildup . . . and I believe that he has some pretty practical reasons for why he would like to see a successful outcome."

But when the subject turned to economics, Reagan blundered. After speaking in favor of stable monetary exchange rates, the President offhandedly observed that nonetheless "there could still be some lowering of the [U.S. dollar's] value." Money traders interpreted that as a renewed attempt to talk the dollar down in order to reduce the U.S. trade deficit, and the greenback promptly sank. White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater issued two clarifications asserting that the President wanted the dollar to stabilize. Reagan will have to do better than that at a summit with Gorbachev, lest the Soviet leader steal all the credit for the missile agreement that should be the proudest international achievement of the Reagan presidency.

—By George J. Church.

Reported by Christopher Redman/Venice and Barrett Seaman/West Berlin

Meanwhile, in East Berlin

Six days before Ronald Reagan made his speech near the Brandenburg Gate, a different set of Western emissaries did star turns in the same location. British Rock Star David Bowie, Eurythmics and Genesis performed on successive nights in front of the Reichstag building, home of the former German parliament, before more than 60,000 pop-music fans. Some 350 yards away on the other side of the Berlin Wall, crowds of young people clashed with East German riot police who prevented them from getting close enough to hear the music. When police chased them with nightsticks, angry rock fans pelted them with bottles and chanted, "The Wall must go." In the apparent hope that the Soviet campaign for *glasnost* will allow them

more freedom, they also shouted, "We want Gorbachev!"

The concerts coincided with the celebrations of Berlin's 750th anniversary, and the bands, amplified by loudspeakers, could be heard on both sides of the Wall. On the second night 3,000 young East Germans gathered to listen to the music from the West. A police line blocked them from approaching the border fortifications, and as the crowd began

to chant and jeer, the police charged, dragging dozens of young people to security vans.

Again the next night a thick cordon of police prevented youths from approaching the Wall. Security forces clubbed them to the ground and pulled them by their hair into nearby vans. Onstage in West Berlin, Genesis Singer Phil Collins sent his greetings to "all Berliners, East and West." Pointing to the Wall, Collins said, "When something happens to the people over there, it is that thing's fault. That [Wall] is to blame."



Congregating on the Communist side of the Wall last week

Shredded Policies, Arrogant Attitudes

A clear picture of deceit emerges from the first round of hearings



The long-awaited witness initially seemed as skittish as her name would suggest. Fawn Hall's right hand trembled when she was sworn in as the 18th and final witness in the first phase of the congressional hearings on the Iran-*contra* scandal. But when she coolly related an extraordinary tale of typing phony official documents, shredding classified papers and hiding others in her clothes to sneak them past White House guards, her face hardened. Whenever her motives or those of her boss, Lieut. Colonel Oliver North, were challenged, she flashed both anger and fear. "Sometimes you have to go above the written law," she blurted out. Then, apparently hearing the gasps in the audience, she retreated. "Maybe that's not correct; it's not a fair thing to say."

But she did say it. In just a few hours Hall crystallized the mentality of so many involved in the scandal. As House Majority Leader Thomas Foley put it, Hall's remark amounted to a "spontaneous evocation of the whole attitude of those involved: the ends justified the means."

The hearings have offered plentiful details about how weapons were surreptitiously shipped to the *contras* in Nicaragua and to Iran at a time when U.S. law and the Administration's proclaimed policy banned such arms traffic. The 110 hours of public testimony have highlighted certain themes as well: an appalling willingness to stretch and sometimes break laws, to deceive Congress, to conduct the Government's business in furtive ways. And once the secret was out, many of the participants attempted to cover their tracks.

The Iran-*contra* mess has been more complex and difficult for Americans to follow than the Watergate tragedy, but according to New Jersey Congressman Peter Rodino, the newer scandal illustrates a similar "arrogance of power." Rodino knows the subject better than most; he chaired the House Judiciary Committee that voted articles of impeachment against Richard Nixon.

No similar threat imperils Ronald Reagan, and there are many differences between the two events. Still, as the hearings demonstrated, the Iran-*contra* misdeeds in some ways are more far-reaching in their implications, placing U.S. foreign policy in the hands of private citizens and arms merchants whose yearning for profits may have exceeded their patriotism. Seemingly accountable to no one, these operatives used their secrecy, in Foley's view, "not to thwart our adversaries but to thwart the legitimate institutions of our Government. It was a covert action by the U.S. against the U.S." Fawn Hall's insistence that "it was a policy of mine not to ask questions" echoed the attitudes of other witnesses. Even Cabinet officials

showed little curiosity about the questionable activities of their subordinates or timidly shrugged off decisions with which they sharply disagreed. Secretary of State George Shultz, for example, termed North a "loose cannon" and told Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams to "monitor Ollie." But Abrams testified that he merely asked North if he was doing anything illegal. Like Hall, Abrams said, "I was careful not to ask Colonel North questions I did not need to know the answers to."

"I was part of the team," Hall declared proudly at one point, and many members of the team were blinded to the reality of what they had done. Torn between her innocent insistence that "I was

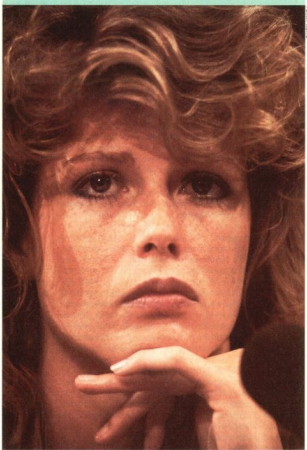
purely a typist, sir," and her determination to "protect" her boss's clandestine dealings with both Iran and the *contras*, Hall seemed unable to recognize wrongdoing. Even after telling the committee how she had shredded documents, Hall insisted, "I don't use the word cover-up." Her euphemism was that "I was in a protective mode."

Hall's account greatly sharpened the picture of deceit that has slowly developed from the hearings. She explained how North had taped to his desk a list of six documents that linked him to supplying money and weapons to the *contras*. On Friday, Nov. 21, after the Iran arms sales had been revealed and North's intertwined help for the *contras* seemed likely to be discovered, he handed Hall four documents on which he had jotted changes. She then typed entirely new memos. Asked if she realized the significance of her doctoring, she snapped, "That was my job, and I wasn't reading or trying to find out what his motives were or what he was trying to hide."

A memo in which North urged the sinking or pirating of a Nicaraguan ship carrying arms to the Sandinistas became a bland suggestion that its cargo merely be publicized. Removed from another document was a reference to dunning "current donors" for "another \$25-30 million" for *contra* "munitions" at a time

"Sometimes you have to go above the written law."

—FAWN HALL



when Congress did not know that Saudi Arabia was giving such military support. A paper that urged National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane to brief President Reagan on how the "delivery of lethal supplies" to the *contras* would continue despite a congressional ban emerged from Hall's racing typewriter with no reference to weapons.

Hall acknowledged to committee members that she had done less than a foolproof job. She typed the false memos on new stationery that was not available when the originals were made. The attached documents were removed from one memo, but she failed to delete a listing of the attachments on the memo itself. Then, before she could switch the phony papers with copies of the originals in her own files or get the new "originals" back to the nearby documents room, a more urgent chore arose.

As Hall told it, she saw her boss taking documents out of a safe and feeding them into the office shredder. She went to his aid, dropping "12, 15, 18 pages" at a time into the machine. Lieut. Colonel Robert Earl, a North aide, contributed his own secret messages. Ever helpful, she asked North whether she should destroy telephone logs and her copies of computer messages too. Yes, he said. But didn't she know what she was destroying? a committee lawyer asked. "I really didn't notice, sir," she replied frostily. "I was just purely doing my job."

Hall's work was not over. Confronted by Attorney General Edwin Meese on Sunday, Nov. 23, North admitted the scheme to divert funds from the Iranian arms sales to the *contras*. On the following Tuesday, Hall was startled to find NSC officials boxing up North's papers. To her horror, she realized that the false documents were still on her desk and were about to be discovered. In panic, she called North at a hotel and whispered for him to return to the office. "I was very emotional at the time," she told the committee. Hall frantically stuffed some of the papers into her boots. She ran upstairs in the two-floor suite to get Earl's help in pulling copies of computer messages from the files. He started to put them in his jacket. "No, you shouldn't have to do this," Hall recounted. "I'll do it." Then she slipped the papers between her back and her clothes.

North arrived with Attorney Thomas Green, who at the time claimed to be representing North, retired Air Force Major General Richard Secord and Albert Hakim, Secord's partner in the highly profitable enterprise that participated in both the Iran arms sales and the air-supply missions for the *contras*. Hall, North and Green then walked out of the office and past a security check. North's briefcase



"Our Government cannot function cloaked in secrecy."

—CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON

was examined. Hall's boots and clothes were not.

Once out of the Old Executive Office Building, Hall twice tried to give the papers to her boss. North signaled her to walk on. Green, she said, warned, "No, wait till we get inside the car." In Green's automobile, Hall pulled out the papers and gave them to North. According to Hall, Green asked her what she would say when asked about shredding documents. "We shred every day," she replied. "Good," said Green. As it turned out, that is just what Hall did say when a White House lawyer inquired about the destruction of evidence.

The part-time model displayed a steely quality before the committee, interrupting some questioners and reeling off a well-practiced "I don't recall." While cameras clicked, Hall sat perky at the table, often whispering to her lawyer and punctuating her answers with a curt "sir" stapled at the end. When Maine's Republican Senator William Cohen said he did not think North was entitled to a grant of immunity in exchange for his testimony, Hall objected. "I think that Colonel North is first a U.S. citizen and he has the same rights that you yourself do, sir." Surprised, Cohen paused, then replied, "I understand that. I'm not entitled to immunity... I don't think anybody's entitled to immunity." Hall's retort: "We have our separate opinions, sir."

Indiana Democrat Lee Hamilton,

chairman of the House select committee, eloquently summed up the lessons learned so far. "Our Government cannot function cloaked in secrecy," he said. "It cannot function unless officials tell the truth." Beyond that, Hamilton noted that "privatization of foreign policy is a prescription for confusion and failure." He found an absence of accountability throughout the sorry affair. "High officials cannot look the other way or distance themselves from key aspects of policy or the actions of those they supervise."

One of those high officials, Hamilton declared bluntly, was Ronald Reagan. The President has admitted some knowledge of the Iranian arms deals and money-raising efforts for the *contras*, but steadfastly denies that he knew anything about the diversion of weapons profits to the *contras*. But the crucial question of exactly what Reagan knew has not been answered in the hearings. When the scandal broke, he downplayed his role in soliciting support for the *contras* while the congressional ban against U.S. aid was in effect. After McFarlane testified that Reagan had talked with Saudi Arabia's King Fahd about *contra* assistance, the President acknowledged playing

a larger part. Then, last week in Venice, he backtracked again, telling reporters, "I told you all the truth that first day after everything hit the fan... I did not solicit anyone ever to do that [help the *contras*]."

How directly Reagan will be tied to the diversion plan will depend on the testimony of North and Rear Admiral John Poindexter, the former National Security Adviser. Poindexter is scheduled to appear on July 7 and North later in the month. The committees' investigators have been grilling Poindexter in secret sessions without any of the legislators present, an arrangement the chairmen apparently agreed to in order to prevent leaks. But there was an understanding that if Poindexter produced any bombshells, such as having briefed Reagan on the diversion, the chairmen would be promptly notified. So far, Poindexter's inquisitors have been silent—an auspicious signal for the President.

To critics who complain that the hearings have needlessly weakened Reagan, Maine's Democratic Senator George Mitchell noted that it was the President "who asked the Congress to create a committee to explore these situations to get the truth to the American people." As last week's testimony demonstrated, the historic hearings have responded to that challenge. And it is only half time in the still unfolding drama that seems to have no heroes, only shredded policies and arrogant attitudes.

—By Ed Magnusson, Reported by Michael Duffy and Hays Gorey/Washington

Nation



Hilario Maldonado's garage home in Lynwood: a "squatters' settlement" in the city's backyard

Down and Out in L.A.

The hidden homeless add a new dimension to an old problem

They are technically not homeless people, but their living quarters make a mockery of the sentiment that there is no place like home. For the past two months Yolanda Gonzales, her daughter, son-in-law and granddaughter have resided in a dilapidated two-car garage in Lynwood, Calif. Patches of dirt blotch the linoleum floor, electrical wires snake along bare walls, a door opens to a reeking kitchen dominated by a blackened stove. At \$300 a month it is, alas, almost a bargain. "Nothing is affordable," says Gonzales, 42, whose daughter is on welfare and whose son-in-law lost his job as a handyman. "We had to settle for this."

So have many of Gonzales' neighbors. In Los Angeles County, which has an estimated street homeless population of more than 30,000, a growing number of the poor are the not-quite-homeless, forced to live in garages, automobiles, even tool sheds and converted chicken coops. The Los Angeles Times estimates that as many as 200,000 stay in some 42,000 garages that rent for \$200 to \$600 a month. Constituting a new, anomalous demographic stratum, this group is made up mostly of Hispanic working poor, many of them illegal immigrants fresh from the Mexican border. Says William Baer, associate professor of urban planning at the University of Southern California: "We've got a squatters' settlement in the backyard of the city."

Other cities, like New York and Detroit, face a similar problem, but it is most acute in the Los Angeles area. Steep rentals and a dearth of public housing have combined with a surging population to push people into makeshift shelters. Some fear that, given the fact that poverty is

slowly increasing in the U.S. while the quantity of low-cost housing is shrinking, the L.A. trend may be the wave of the future for the nation's working poor.

In Lynwood (pop. 53,000 and 70% Hispanic), authorities have received more than 300 complaints about garage dwelling in the past eight months. In nearby South Gate, where some 4,000 garages provide shelter for 20,000 people, about 900 families have been evicted from backyards in the past three years. But a severe crackdown, officials agree, would only leave the unlucky completely homeless.

For others, however, a garage might seem luxurious. Jim Bird, 38, is living in his yellow 1975 Plymouth Fury in a parking lot in Studio City. A divorced former homeowner from Riverside, Bird is one of some 5,000 automobile dwellers in the San Fernando Valley. Unemployed, he could not afford a home when he last worked, at \$5 an hour. Says he: "There is just no way you can pay rent with that."

"It's the deposit that's killing the working poor," says Mary Lee, an attorney with the Western Center on Law and Poverty. "You're talking about \$1,200 even in the cheapest neighborhoods." The waiting list for public housing approaches 17,000, according to Leila Gonzalez-Correa, executive director of the Los Angeles housing authority, and the monthly turnover is only about 180.

As squalid as the garages may be, the truly dispiriting news is that things could be worse. As Lawyer Lee puts it, "It is deplorable that you should have to live without basic human services. But it's a helluva lot better than being on the street."

—By Frank Trippett

Reported by Scott Brown/Los Angeles

Innocent Man

An accused Marine spy is freed

Before he was arrested on espionage charges last March, Marine Corporal Arnold Bracy told investigators a story that shook the U.S. diplomatic and national-security communities. Bracy, a guard at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, confessed to serving as a lookout while another guard, Sergeant Clayton Lonetree, escorted KGB spies through the embassy. The ensuing scandal led to calls for Secretary of State George Shultz to cancel a scheduled visit to Moscow. Lonetree and Bracy, who had allegedly been seduced into spying by Soviet women, were carted off to the brig at the Quantico, Va., Marine base to await court-martial proceedings.

Today Bracy, 21, is a free man and the Marines are somewhat shamed. All charges against the Marine guard were dismissed last week after the corps announced that it had insufficient evidence to corroborate his confession. Bracy had retracted the statement, claiming that agents of the Naval Investigative Service had coerced it from him during three days of grueling interrogation.

At a press conference last week, Bracy said a Soviet cook at the embassy had tried to recruit him as a spy in June 1986. He rejected her offer and promptly reported it to his commander. Later, he said, he confronted the woman but did not tell the commander of the meeting. "My mistake was that I didn't report," said Bracy.

The corps has also dropped charges that Lonetree, 25, escorted Soviet agents through the embassy, but it will still prosecute him for allegedly passing documents and photographs to the KGB. A third Marine who had been detained on espionage charges, Sergeant John Weirick, was set free last month because the military statute of limitations prevented him from being prosecuted for acts he was accused of committing at the Leningrad consulate in 1981-82.

The U.S. has had trouble substantiating claims that the old Moscow embassy and a new one under construction have been planted with electronic listening devices. After returning from an inspection of the new embassy last week, a team headed by former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger recommended a massive overhaul of the chancery to combat alleged Soviet bugging. Yet technicians have been hard pressed to find any tangible evidence of the bugs. Listening devices can be so well disguised, said one investigator, that "the problem is we don't know what we're looking for."



CAMPAIGN PORTRAIT

Orator for the Next Generation

Does Joe Biden talk too much?



Eloquent and occasionally irascible, Delaware Senator Joseph Biden last week officially announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. This is one of an occasional series of profiles of the major contenders for 1988.

The mood among 3,000 hometown supporters gathered in front of the restored Victorian train station in Wilmington, Del., was as buoyant as the red, white and blue balloons waiting to be unleashed to the sky. Yet there was Joe Biden, gambling that he could pump up the crowd even higher while challenging his middle-class neighbors with the specter of a "nation at risk" from materialist values, declining industries, drug abuse, inadequate schools and kids abandoned to poverty. "It is the plight of our children that is the moral test of our time," he roared in a voice that bounced off the surrounding buildings.

His handsome features taut, his fist balled in indignation, Biden was in danger of losing his audience by painting a vivid picture of ghetto hopelessness. So totally did he capture his listeners, however, that their approval punctuated the meticulous cadence of his clincher: "And these are not someone else's children. They are our children. [Applause begins.] America's children. [More applause.] Blood of our blood. [A louder ripple.] Heart of our soul." This was Biden at his best, the impassioned idealist displaying the soaring rhetoric that has become his trademark.

Biden's mouth is both his greatest asset and his greatest liability. During a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year, Biden came across as a hothead seeking hot headlines as he relentlessly badgered Secretary of State George Shultz over U.S. policy toward South Africa. The day after, he approached a friend on the Senate floor and asked sheepishly, "How much do you think I lost on that? I guess I made a fool of myself."

The contrast between his highly effective speaking style and his occasional giddy lapses is curious in a politician who thinks of himself as "grounded" in both his psyche and his message. All his Democratic competitors save Jesse Jackson seem bland by comparison, technocrats who emphasize specific programs and highlight their résumés. Biden's long suit is his appeal to idealism, his promise to be a President who would lead by strength of will and uncompromising candor.

At 44, Biden is a few years ahead of the baby boomers, but he professes to be a card-carrying member of their generation. Using language appropriated from John Kennedy and reworked by Pollster Pat Caddell, Biden exhorts those from their 20s to their 40s to trade up from dreary materialism to exhilarating activism. "The cynics believe that my generation has forgotten," he says in one of his stump speeches. "They believe that the ideals and compassion and conviction to change the world that marked our youth is now nothing but a long-faded wisp of adolescence. . . . But they have misjudged us." By no coincidence, the group that he implores "to put our own stamp on the face and character of America, to bend history just a bit" makes up an estimated 58% of next year's eligible voters.

Biden remains at the bottom of polls, but party donors, who know that preliminary surveys are not critical, have put his campaign treasury in the penthouse with more than \$2 million in contributions. Says Republican Analyst John Sears: "Biden, on paper, has more to work with in putting together a broadly based campaign than any of the other Democrats."

Yet as Biden traveled the country last week, he was trailed by doubts about his ability to convert party assets to real ones. His overtures to the new generation should have helped him attract support from Gary Hart's ruined campaign, but so far few voters have followed. Some party workers are put off by Biden's verbal excesses. Says an Iowa activist whom Biden has unsuccessfully courted: "He might just talk himself out of the nomination."

A study inchutzpah when performing extemporaneously, Biden continues to generate needless friction with careless remarks. Asked last week whether he would consider Jesse Jackson as a running mate, Biden could have ducked the question. Instead, he said that Jackson lacks experience in elective office. The next day he backed off, saying the discussion was "silly" because Jackson is far ahead of him in polls.

Biden's intimates can see trouble coming, as they did earlier this month. A reporter mildly challenged him about earlier speeches in Iowa. Biden responded with his devilish Jack Nicholson grin, a sign that a wisecrack is winning the struggle to get out. Then came his staccato chuckle—*heh-heh-heh*—and the zinger, a complaint that the newspaper had been too cheap to send the reporter to Iowa. As he often does, Biden later apologized.

Biden recognizes that these incidents feed the perception that he is a glib lightweight. He is no "hothead," he insists; certain occasions warrant anger, but his temper is "measured." One friend suggests that the hip shooting comes from a "complicated mix of the emotional and the calculating." A Biden aide observes that "somewhere in him

is the Irish Catholic kid struggling to show 'them' that he's as good as they are."

During his 14 years in the Senate, Biden has dug deep into a few issues that engage him, such as the SALT II treaty and the 1984 omnibus crime bill, which he helped steer to enactment through liberal-conservative cross fire. But he has never become a recognized leader on any single large question. He has a short attention span, say his critics. He is eclectic, reply his supporters. He has ambitions that the Senate hierarchy could not satisfy, chorus all.

Friends who knew Biden decades ago in Delaware recall all



In his Wilmington office: a mix of emotion and calculation

SENATOR JOE BIDEN



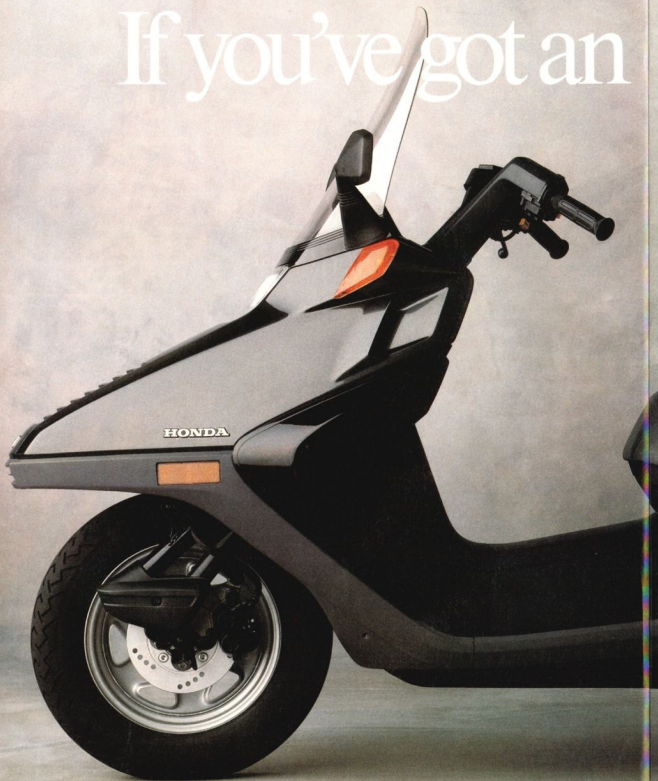
Loved Ones

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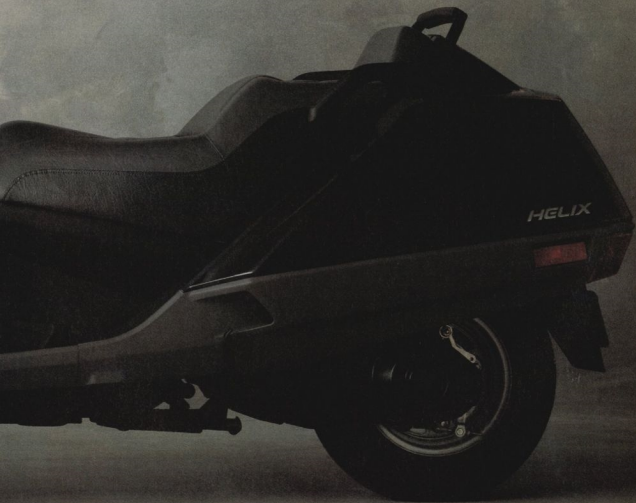
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Q.

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A.



Nation

three attributes in the brash Irish boy whose charm could command a crowd even then. The Biden family had moved from Scranton when their firstborn, Joseph Robinette Biden Jr., was ten. They settled in a neat, three-bedroom house in a middle-class suburban development called Mayfield. Joe Sr., who never attended college, sold Chevrolets. Joe Jr. shared a room with his two brothers, Valerie, who would grow up to manage her brother's campaigns, was the lucky occupant of the third bedroom.

The man who is now one of his party's foremost orators suffered severely with a stutter in his youth. In freshman Latin class at a Catholic high school, recitation was particularly difficult for young Joe. "Jimmy O'Neill, a great prankster, hung me with the nickname Impedimenta," Biden recalls. "I was the impediment." Over the next few years, the youngster shook his affliction. "I forced myself. I memorized passages and practiced a cadence." Despite the speech problem, Biden had the good looks and sincere geniality that won friends. "I always knew I had the ability to persuade people," he recalls.

Although Biden has said that the civil rights movement in the early 1960s first awakened his political consciousness, he was no campus activist during his four years as an indifferent student at the University of Delaware. In fact, he now acknowledges that he participated in desegregation demonstrations "only in a very minor sense": black lifeguards at the swimming pool where he worked during the summer invited him to join in some picketing in Wilmington. Later, as a law student at Syracuse University, Biden avoided antiwar protests.

As a new lawyer in Wilmington, Biden flirted with the moderate G.O.P. establishment while clerking for a Republican firm. "I thought of myself as a Republican for six or seven months, no longer," he says. He quickly found more stimulating work as an assistant to a Democratic activist who specialized in criminal and negligence cases. In 1970, just two years out of law school, Biden ran successfully as an underdog candidate for the local county council. Even before he took his council seat, he was planning his next campaign, against Caleb Boggs, Delaware's Republican Senator who was generally regarded as unbeatable. After two years of campaigning, Biden upset Boggs by just 1% of the vote in 1972. At age 30, Biden would become the Senate's youngest member.

Six weeks later his world was shattered. On a highway near Wilmington, a truck collided with the family station wagon, killing his wife Neilia, 27, and daughter Naomi, 13 months. His two sons, Beau, 3, and Hunter, 2, were critically injured. Rushing back from Washington, where he had been recruiting staff, Biden con-



With his family, he declares his candidacy at the Wilmington train station

years later. By then, Biden, still an obscure junior Senator, was beginning to eye the White House.

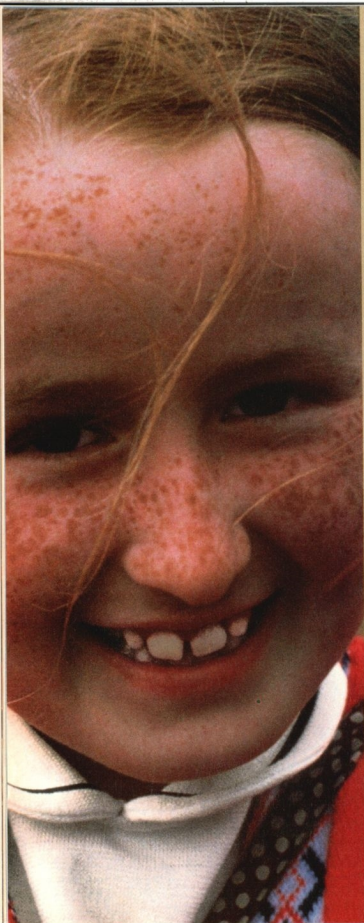
Four years ago, Biden almost ran against Democratic Front Runner Walter Mondale at the urging of Patrick Caddell, the controversial, often contentious political pollster who has preached the political power of the baby-boom generation. An early race would have been a typically bold move, and Biden still believes in Caddell's strategy for challenging the conventional leadership. But Biden finally said no: his daughter Ashley was only two, and his sons were still in high school. Caddell took his plan to Hart, becoming a principal strategist of the strongest challenge to Mondale. Later Caddell, a Biden adviser since 1972, announced that he would work for his friend or no one else in 1988. "In political terms," says a former ally, "Joe and Pat are really one candidate."

With 1988 on the horizon, Biden once more agonized over the decision. He fretted about his family and wondered whether he could campaign and also remain effective as head of the Senate Judiciary Committee. As more single-minded competitors went into overdrive last fall and winter, Biden inched along in second gear. In New Hampshire one night last October, Biden and his son Hunter were searching for a restaurant that might still be serving dinner, when he again began ruminating about family concerns. Turning to Hunter in the dark van, he asked, "What do you want me to do?" The teenager had a prompt response: "You should. If you don't do it now, I couldn't see you doing it some other time." Biden sighed: "Yeah, that's the thing."

Something else was nibbling at his resolve. The competition didn't faze him much, nor did he doubt his ability to master specific issues. But on the 7:20 p.m. to Wilmington recently, Biden talked quietly about the next President's responsibility "not only to have the right answers but also to energize this country at a time when it's both optimistic and doubting. . . . I'd sit there and talk to myself and say, 'Am I the guy? Am I the guy to be able to do this?' . . . It's a very sobering thing." Yes, he finally told himself, I am the guy. —By Laurence L. Barrett



Berating Shultz at a hearing last year: "I guess I made a fool of myself"



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American Notes



Travel: Beane after his arrest in L.A.



Disasters: Tire Mountain looked like the Great Smokies



Scandal: mudbath for Myerson

UNIONS

Cleanup by Takeover

The war dates back to the era of tail fins and Hula-Hoops. Finally, after 30 years of frustration, the Justice Department is preparing a new offensive in its continuing struggle to cleanse mob stains from the 2 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Federal officials confirmed last week that the Government plans to file a path-breaking civil suit asking the courts to replace the national leadership of the Teamsters with a federal trustee. The takeover bid would not affect the upcoming criminal trial of Teamster President Jackie Presser on federal racketeering charges.

But the Teamsters are not likely to come under federal control until the 1990s, if then. The only precedent is a Teamster local in New Jersey with close ties to organized crime, which was placed under a federal trusteeship last year. That case took four years to resolve.

DISASTERS

Dire Pyre of Tires

Jerry Jamison's junkyard in rural Weld County, Colo., 40 miles northeast of Denver, is called Tire Mountain. But last

week it was easy to confuse it with the Great Smokies. One lightning bolt was all it took to transform Jamison's burial ground for dead treads into a conflagration that spewed a plume of black smoke 9,000 feet into the Rocky Mountain sky. An estimated 2 million tires, 40% of Jamison's inventory, blazed over 20 acres, forcing the temporary evacuation of about 25 families. As scores of fire fighters worked the hoses, a U.S. Forest Service plane dumped fire retardant, and a neighboring turkey farmer supplied 45,000 cu. yds. of dirt to smother the smoldering remains. "We worried, reading about some of the other tire fires," said Faye Jamison, wife of the junkyard's owner. "But we never dreamed it would happen here."

SCANDAL

Fallen from Grace

Ever since she was named Miss America in 1945, Bess Myerson has been accustomed to the flattering spotlight, not the glare of harsh headlines. But now even her friend New York City Mayor Ed Koch concedes that Myerson has "fallen from grace." Her slide began earlier this year, when she stepped down from her post as the city's commissioner of cultural affairs after her boyfriend, Building Contractor Carl Capasso, was in-

dicted on federal tax-evasion charges. Myerson hit bottom last week when Koch released classified details of an official investigation charging that she had improperly influenced Judge Hortense Gabel, who was handling Capasso's divorce case. The inquiry sharply criticized Myerson's decision to employ Gabel's daughter Sukhreet as her special assistant just two weeks before the judge slashed Capasso's alimony payments. The report also alleges a cover-up: Myerson lied about the circumstances and timing of the hiring in a letter to Koch. Myerson denies acting illegally, but she is under investigation by U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani.

AIDS

Political Medicine

Attorney General Edwin Meese called the plan reasonable and compassionate, but civil libertarians and many scientists assailed it as political gamesmanship. At issue are new Government regulations that require AIDS testing of some federal prisoners and all aliens seeking to live in the U.S. Immigrants who test positive will be denied residency. For convicts, the tests will be administered on entering the federal prison system and 60 days prior to release. Parole officers will be informed of posi-

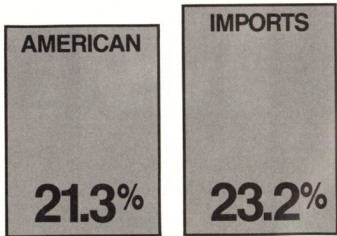
tive results. The new regulations are the outgrowth of President Reagan's policy speech on AIDS two weeks ago. Less successful is Reagan's call for states to require testing for couples seeking marriage licenses; health officials remain skeptical in such AIDS-afflicted states as New York, New Jersey and California.

TRAVEL

Coming Home The Hard Way

It was not the traditional homecoming: being confined to the Marine base in Quantico, Va. But Douglas Beane, 39, who was facing a court-martial when he deserted the Marines in Viet Nam in 1970, is not a typical returning traveler. Arrested last December when he applied for a visa at a U.S. consulate in Australia, Beane won a court battle that allowed him to stay in that country. Instead, he voluntarily decided to return to the U.S. so he could visit his ailing father in West Rutland, Vt. But when he landed at Los Angeles airport, U.S. marshals arrested him, and the Marine Corps later officially charged him with desertion and other crimes related to his Viet Nam days. If convicted, Beane could face life imprisonment. Christine Beane, the mother of the former Marine, said, "All I want is to see him get his life together and get some peace."

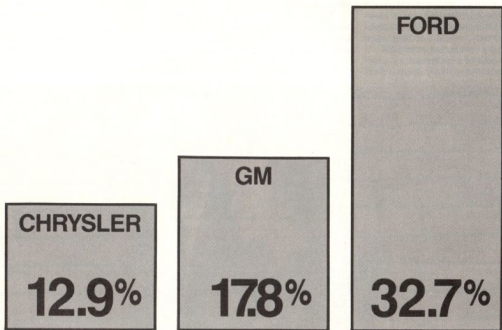
**Good News:
American
automakers
have better
safety recall records
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about the quality of American cars.

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World

BRITAIN

All Revved Up

Thatcher rides again, winning a chance to finish her "revolution"

Stylishly dressed, hair perfectly coiffed and wearing the inevitable pearl earrings, Margaret Thatcher had dropped by for yet another of British election organizers' much loved photo opportunities. This time it was a famous motorcycle manufacturer in Newton Abbot, Devonshire. The Prime Minister, ever the lady, would not be pushed into providing a spectacle for the press. "I think that would be a bit gimmicky, don't you?" she declared, politely declining re-

quests to sit on a motorcycle or even grip the handlebars. But Thatcher is not one to miss such an opportunity entirely, and almost coyly she allowed her fingers to trace the name on the machine as photographers snapped away. It read TRIUMPH.

The prophecy proved accurate. Last week Thatcher's Tory Party was resoundingly returned to office, although with a reduced majority. She thus became the first Prime Minister in modern British political history to win three successive general

elections. The country's 43.7 million voters, who regard her iron-willed leadership with a mixture of admiration and anxiety, gave the Conservatives a 101-seat majority in the 650-member House of Commons, 43 fewer than the party had won in the 1983 elections. But that was more than sufficient for Thatcher to pursue her "unfinished revolution" in reshaping the political, economic and social fabric of Britain. When she was first elected in 1979, the country was in such economic peril that only 2½



years earlier it had sought a bailout loan from the International Monetary Fund. Today Britain is a leading creditor nation with a vibrant economy, a rising currency and a booming stock market that soared anew in response to the Tory victory. Thatcher, says London's *Sunday Times*, has brought about Britain's "biggest transformation since the Industrial Revolution."

Under Neil Kinnock, 45, a balding, red-haired Welshman, the ever squabbling Labor Party managed to increase its seats in the House to 229 from the 209 it won in 1983, though last week's showing was still the party's second worst in more than a half-century. The most disappointed loser was the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance, which had become a third force in British politics in its six years of existence. Led by the Liberals' David Steel and the Social Democrats' David Owen, the Alliance had aimed to eclipse Labor as the main opposition party. Instead, its representation in the House was reduced to 22 seats from the 23 it won in the previous election. The vote was a landmark in one respect: three



blacks and an Indian, all Labor candidates, became the first nonwhites elected to the House of Commons since 1922.

On Saturday, Thatcher named a new 21-member Cabinet. Most were holdovers, but there were two surprises. Norman Tebbit, the Conservative Party chairman who had just led the Tories to victory, resigned as Minister Without Portfolio. Though no reason was given, he reportedly wanted to spend more time with his wife, who was badly injured during a 1984 bombing attack by the Irish Republican Army. Cecil Parkinson, who resigned in 1983 in the midst of a sex scandal (he had fathered his secretary's child), rejoined the Cabinet as Energy Secretary.

For Margaret Hilda Thatcher, 61, the daughter of a grocer from the Lincolnshire town of Grantham, the hefty Tory majority could help her attain the prime goal for her third term, to "destroy socialism," which has been a decisive force in British life since the end of World War II. The election results will also enable her to continue with the economic policy that is now known as Thatcherism. Since she came to power in 1979, her policy of cutting back on inefficient industries and attacking inflation with tight money and reduced government spending has greatly expanded the middle class and transformed Britain from the sick man of Europe to the fastest-growing economic power in the European Community. "We have put the Great back into Britain," she repeatedly declared during the campaign. Last May, shortly after she called the elections 13 months before the end of her five-year term, she insisted, "Our country has changed for the better. We have discovered a new strength and a new pride."

Many Britons see a different country, where the gap between the well-off of the green, leafy south and the struggling workers of much of the gritty, industrial north has widened under Thatcher. Indeed, the election results confirmed this divide, with support for Labor up 7% in the north and the Tories' vote rising 25% in the south. That schism led in large measure to the Tories' reduced representation in Parliament. Unemployment has increased threefold over the past eight years. A record 3 mil-

lion Britons are without jobs today, although the figures have been declining for the past nine months. The health service and the educational system are in chaos. Said the *Sunday Observer*: "We are fast moving—in crucial areas like health and education—toward private affluence and public squalor."

Thatcher had the good fortune to face as her main opposition a Labor Party still scarred by dissension. A majority of voters rejected its policies of increased public spending and unilateral nuclear disarmament. The party was committed to abandoning the British nuclear deterrent and seeking the removal of all U.S. cruise missiles and other nuclear weapons from British soil. Many Britons, including some Labor supporters, believe that policy would leave the country at the mercy of the Soviets. Kinnock seemed to admit as much when he told Television Interviewer David Frost that a nonnuclear Britain's best defense against the Soviets would be to use "all the resources you have got to make any [Soviet] occupation totally untenable." Within hours, Thatcher was accusing Kinnock of hoisting "the white flag of surrender." Later she told a rally, "I'm a mum, and I like to think that those who believe in keeping Britain strong, free and properly defended belong in mum's army."

After the election, the Alliance's Owen joined in the criticism of Labor's policies. "They were unelectable and are unelectable," he declared. "The reason Labor has not delivered is that their policies stink." Owen, however, was having his own problems. The Alliance had counted on this election to gain a surge of new support from middle-of-the-road voters, but its share of the popular vote actually declined nearly 3 percentage points from 1983, putting its survival in doubt. Analysts believe the Alliance suffered because there were fewer uncommitted voters in this election. The two Alliance parties may also have lost support through their public disagreements over Britain's nuclear policy.

The campaign was an ill-tempered four-week ordeal, with Labor's main hatchet man, Shadow Foreign Secretary Denis Healey, variously comparing the Prime Minister to Catherine the Great and Genghis Khan. The electorate looked on in apparent bemusement at a campaign that rarely sent the national pulse racing and was, American-style, fought out largely on television. In another imitation of U.S. campaigning, both major parties relied on photo opportunities, carefully choreographed meetings with voters, and ticket-holders-only rallies of the faithful.

Election analysts agreed that Labor had ensured its survival as one of Britain's two major parties by mounting a superior campaign. Party strategists focused their effort on the personable Kinnock and his wife Glenys. Cautiously avoiding the largely Tory, London-based press, the couple spent long periods campaigning in the

Resounding prophecy: the victor and Husband Denis at Triumph motorcycle factory; above, Labor's Neil Kinnock

provinces, far from London. "The style was vintage Jimmy Carter," noted a Western ambassador in London. Thatcher, by contrast, made the usual one-day campaign forays from the capital. "The Kinnocks were packaged with professionalism and flair," conceded a Conservative politician, "while most of the time we seemed to lack both." Thatcher occasionally stumbled, as when she was asked why she had taken out private medical insurance rather than relying on the National Health Service. She replied, "To enable me to go into hospital on the day I want, at the time I want, with the doctor I want." That led Owen to castigate her for indifference toward those who cannot afford the luxury of choosing between private and state health care.

Less than 65 hours before the polls opened, Thatcher flew by private jet to the seven-nation Venice summit, where the televised image of her moving easily among major world leaders was not lost on voters. At his last campaign rally, Kinnock mocked the Venice trip before a crowd in the bleak northern city of Leeds. Said he: "And now the TV spectacular to end all TV spectacles: Venice. Cinderella on canal. She went there because somebody told her she could walk down the middle of the street."

That final, cocky gesture was typical of Kinnock, who entered the campaign with a reputation as a political lightweight. In just over 3½ years as Labor's leader he had rarely bested Thatcher in their almost weekly jousts during the Prime Minister's question time in the House of Commons, and he had been ridiculed for his often rambling and emotional speeches. He was criticized by radical leftists in the Labor Party for moving it too far toward the center. But his eloquent campaign attacks against Tory parsimony won him respect as a warm, compassionate leader. In one crowd-pleasing piece of oratory last week, he evoked the meter of Welsh Poet Dylan Thomas when he declared there were just four more days left of "hope-destroying, unemploying, care-cutting, factory-shutting, nation-splitting, poor-hitting, truth-mangling, freedom-strangling Toryism."

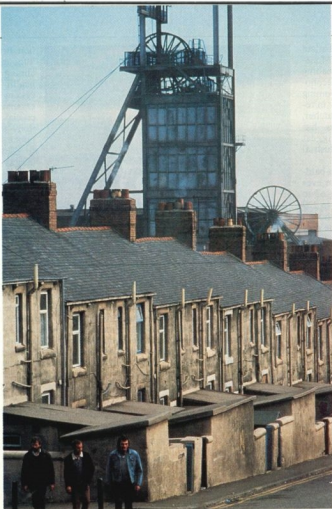
Perhaps the major issue in the campaign was Thatcher's dream of a more prosperous, more assertive Britain in contrast to Labor's view of a country in crisis. It was Labor, however, that had presided over many of the country's frequent eco-

nomic crises in the 1960s and '70s. By the time Thatcher arrived in 1979, Britain was saddled with a costly welfare state in which labor-management relations were mired in class conflict and industry was aging and inefficient. Since then, Thatcher has transformed Britain more dramatically than any Prime Minister since Clement Attlee, who presided over the creation of the welfare state in the late 1940s. Her third term is likely to be an extension of the Thatcher revolution. Since Britain began pulling out of the recession in 1981, the economy has grown at an annual rate of around 3%, and annual productivity is growing 3.5%, not far behind Japan's 4%. Inflation is down to 3.5% from a high of 24.2% in 1975. Many Britons have prospered under Thatcher. Partly because of government efforts to encourage the creation of new companies in the services area, 1 million people have jobs that did not exist before Thatcher came to office. In fact, in 1979 only 30% of the British were considered middle class; now nearly half the country fits that description. And through incentives to small business, Thatcher has opened doors to entrepreneurs. For all that, some of Thatcher's countrymen clearly prefer

send, professor of social policy at the University of Bristol: "Eight years of Thatcherism have resulted in a widening gap between rich and poor."

To help narrow this gap, Thatcher has proposed a job-training scheme for all secondary-school dropouts and, within five years, job training for all those under 50 who have been unemployed for two years. Actually finding jobs for these trainees, however, may be difficult. In a March poll, a majority of voters questioned said they would forgo the tax cuts delivered this year by the government if the savings were used to improve unemployment, health and education. Yet Thatcher is opposed to large increases in public spending for social programs and job creation. Her fear is that inflation will break loose again. The Tories prefer restraint, with government spending rising only 1¼% a year through 1991, a figure that could increase as the economy improves.

One spread-the-wealth measure that Thatcher is expected to pursue vigorously is her program of "people's capitalism," under which state-owned companies are being sold to the public. Since 1979 more



Coal miners return home in Easington, Durham, after a day in the colliery
Under Thatcherism, subsidies for declining industries have dwindled.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'NEILL

the older Britain, slower paced, caring and imbued with a frayed gentility. Even some Conservatives have expressed concern that Thatcher has seemed callous toward the poor and the disadvantaged. For her part, the Prime Minister argues that she has turned a "lame-duck economy into a bulldog economy." Only vigorous growth, she insists, can support the level of social services Britons demand. The election, she said recently, was not a "choice between a caring party and an uncaring one. All decent people care about the sick, the unfortunate and the old. It is false and wicked to suggest otherwise."

Still, Thatcher's major challenge in her third term will be the problems of poverty and joblessness. While new employment is up, some 2 million jobs have disappeared, mostly in coal mining, shipbuilding and other declining industries that Britain, like other Western countries, has been weaning away from government subsidies in order to force greater efficiency. Inequality has persisted, with half the British population now holding 93% of the country's wealth, down only marginally from 95% in 1979. Says Peter Town-



The fruits of a more competitive economy: a Rolls-Royce parked on Piccadilly, location of some of London's most expensive stores
Though the middle class has grown, so has the gap between a gleaming, prosperous South and a gritty, impecunious North.

than one-third of Britain's nationalized industries have gone public—including British Telecom, British Gas, British Airways and Rolls-Royce—bringing in more than \$29 billion for the treasury. What Napoleon called a "nation of shopkeepers" has changed under Thatcher into a nation of shareholders. Nearly 20% of adult Britons own stock nowadays, triple the number in 1979. Next in line for sale: the British Airports Authority, regional water boards and the electricity industry.

The Prime Minister also encourages the sale of subsidized, local council-owned houses and apartments to their tenants, a program she began in her first term. Since then, the number of owner-occupied homes has risen from 50% to 66%. Her goal for the third term is 75%.

Thatcher's concern for the emerging middle class contrasts with her distaste for organized labor. In the three decades before she took over, wildcat strikes had torn holes in the country's economy. Major trade unions were considered more powerful than the government, and labor unrest helped topple two Prime Ministers, Edward Heath in 1974 and James Callaghan in 1979. Thatcher changed all that. Starting in 1980 she pushed through legislation to limit picketing rights, ban secondary picketing and make national unions financially responsible for the actions of their members. She has taken on a number of the country's most powerful unions and crushed them: the steelworkers in 1980, the coal miners in 1985 after a bitter one-year strike, and the teachers last year. Partly as a result of

Thatcher's efforts, union membership has fallen by one-quarter, to 9 million, and strikes are at a 50-year low. The number of workdays lost to labor disputes has declined from 29.5 million in 1979 to a mere 1.9 million last year. In her third term Thatcher plans legislation to further curb the power of the unions.

The country's education system has slipped badly under Thatcher. Critics charge that spending has been cut 10% after inflation, and even her Minister for Information Technology, Geoffrey Pattie, complains that "schools are turning out dangerously high quotas of illiterate, delinquent unemployables." One Tory proposal is to take control of secondary and primary schools away from local councils, many of them Labor dominated, and give principals and school boards more power over their budgets.

Britain's National Health Service also has deteriorated. With a staff of 1 million, the NHS will spend \$33 billion this year, but its patient waiting lists are the longest in the European Community. As many as 700,000 people are waiting for surgery, some of them have been for years. Budget cuts have closed 20 hospitals in the London area alone. The government points out, however, that spending on the health service has actually increased 2½ times in the past eight years. The government has already set aside \$83 million for a two-year program to treat more than 100,000 patients waiting for operations.

Under Thatcher the country has asserted itself more on the world stage than at any other time since the 1956 loss of the Suez

Canal, an event widely regarded as the end of Britain's days as a major world power. She presided over the 1982 victory against Argentina in the Falklands war, and despite domestic opposition, pressed ahead with the modernization of Britain's aging Polaris nuclear submarine fleet, accepted U.S. cruise missiles on British soil and last year allowed U.S. F-111s to strike Libya from British air bases. Her visit to Moscow in April, during which she spent 13 hours in private with Mikhail Gorbachev, cemented her position as a world figure. British cartoonists have even taken to portraying her with a Churchillian cigar. She plans to visit Reagan in July, and it is likely that once again the discussion will center on negotiations for an intermediate-range nuclear forces agreement with the Soviets.

Over the past eight years the British have learned to take seriously something Thatcher says about herself: "If you want someone weak, you don't want me." Indeed, she is often compared to a hectoring nanny. Although some voters hope her newly won third term will be her last hurrah, she insists that "I have no wish to retire for a very long time. I am still bursting with energy."

The Prime Minister typically rises at 6, after only five hours' sleep, and breakfasts on black coffee and vitamin pills. She often fixes simple meals for herself and Husband Denis, 72, a retired businessman and avid golfer. Thatcher's own favorite recreation appears to be reading briefing papers. She has groomed no obvious successor among the Tories, and remarked early in the campaign that she might "go on and on," perhaps seeking a fourth term. "What would she do if she weren't Prime Minister?" asks Tory Chairman Tebbit. "One doesn't see her retiring to gardening or making marmalade." One does not.

—By David Brand, Reported by Frank Melville/Leeds and Christopher Ogden/London



Two of the 3 million unemployed

"We Are Building a Property-Ownning Democracy"

Serene and assured, Prime Minister Thatcher defends her record and speaks of the future

After only four hours of sleep and a day spent thanking campaign workers and consulting with colleagues, Margaret Thatcher welcomed TIME London Bureau Chief Christopher Ogden and Reporter Frank Melville upstairs at No. 10 Downing Street to talk about her plans for a third term. Wearing a blue suit and her trademark double strand of pearls, she sat at a small table in an oak-paneled room. Behind her were congratulatory baskets of flowers. Excerpts from the interview:

Q. How do you interpret the election?

A. It means that the policies we were pursuing, which we put openly and frankly before the people, were thought to be right for Britain. They were policies which were a partnership between government and people—namely, we do the things which only governments can do, running the finances in a sound way, keeping inflation down, cutting controls and giving tax incentives. And we got the response in an increasing enterprise and competitiveness from the British people. And that produced a higher standard of living.

Q. Why do people accuse you so bitterly of lacking compassion?

A. Some people think that to be compassionate and caring you have to talk a lot about it. We've always taken the view that you should be judged by what you do and not by what you say, and we're prepared to be judged on that—any day of the week.

Q. What are the most important accomplishments of your first eight years?

A. First, we have reduced the fantastic number of controls that there were over the life of our society. The greatest driving force in life, which is individual energy and effort, was becoming really cooped. Secondly, people do need incentives to encourage them to work harder, and if you take too much away in tax, then you will not get that driving incentive. Plus the trade union law. When we took over, it seemed as if the left-wing trade union leaders were more powerful than the government of the day. All of this has been replaced by different systems. We now know that the spirit of enterprise is there. The economy is doing well and catching up with our European competitors.

Q. What are your plans for a third term?

A. I will extend opportunities to people who never had them before. As you know, we are building a property-owning democracy. Far more people own their own homes now. We are nearly up to the United States—not yet quite—but now one in five of our people owns company shares. Far many more people have savings accounts. That's all extending opportunity even more widely.



Q. How far will you extend privatization?

A. Some of our water has been supplied to people by private companies for years. The great amount of it is done under public authorities, and many of them tell us they would be able to run very much more efficiently if they were able to run their own operation. Also we shall then embark upon privatizing electricity, which you [in the U.S.] are used to. And then we'll have a look at other things and see how best we can bring them onto the market—always, I must say, giving the people who work in those enterprises the first chance to purchase shares at an advantageous price. Our policy is that every earner shall be an owner.

Q. Is there increased anti-Americanism in this country at the moment?

A. You will hear a good deal of it on the left wing of the Labor Party, but in almost

every speech I give, I say this [Conservative] Party and these people are pro-American, and before I finish the sentence a round of applause breaks out. People are enormously appreciative of the generosity of the American people and of their fundamental love of liberty. I tend to regard the United States as Europe on the other side of the Atlantic, which of course is really very much what it is.

Q. What's your sense of the Moscow-Washington relationship?

A. I think we shall get the first agreement actually to reduce nuclear weapons. And we shall have gotten it by being very firm. As long as you are always firm in safeguarding your liberty and in defending it, then you do very tough negotiations, watching at each stage that everything you do is verifiable. You don't take anything on trust. The Soviet Union is a closed society and it's much bigger than the United States, so it would be much easier for them to conceal things.

Q. Do you think Reagan and Gorbachev understand each other?

A. I think it is easier for us to see a closed society than it is for those who live in a closed society to understand what an open society is all about. I don't think you always have to agree with the person you are negotiating with. What you need is a common interest. And it is a common interest between the free world and

the unfree world that the two shall never come into warlike conflict.

Q. Would you consider a fourth term?

A. I can't see what is going to happen in four or five years' time. We've just won this election. We'll implement the policies that we've put forward in this election. And let's just see exactly where we get to.

Q. When it comes time to write the definitive analysis of Margaret Thatcher, what would you like it to say?

A. That we had the courage to tackle the things which other governments had run away from, and therefore transformed Britain from a declining country to one which could again be proud of her spirit of enterprise and proud as a reliable ally and an influential nation. In other words, to have restored the British character to its vitality. ■

World

POLAND

A Prayer for Solidarity's Heirs

In his homeland, John Paul talks of hope and defiance

When Pope John Paul II last visited his native Poland, in 1983, he made only veiled references to Solidarity, the outlawed independent labor movement. The martial law that had abruptly ended Poland's democratic experiment was still in effect, and he was not even permitted to visit Gdansk, the Baltic shipbuilding city that gave birth to Solidarity. But last week, on his third visit as Pope to his homeland, John Paul more than made up for lost time. Speaking in Gdansk from a giant outdoor altar built in the stylized form of a wooden sailing vessel, the Pontiff not only talked about Solidarity but pleaded with his audience to continue abiding by the principles of the banned organization. "Let this day be the day of our common prayer for work and solidarity," he said in ringing tones. "I pray every day for the working people and the specific heritage of Polish solidarity."

The previous evening John Paul had held a poignant reunion in Gdansk with Lech Walesa, the electrician who gained worldwide fame as Solidarity's founder. Now a "private citizen" in the government's eyes, an obviously elated Walesa called his 35-minute session with the Pope "great" and said, "We were in a place we know, and we could just be ourselves." At Warsaw's insistence, the meeting was kept off John Paul's official agenda.

John Paul also paid an emotional visit to the Majdanek concentration camp, where several hundred thousand people, mostly Jews, were killed during World War II. As he prayed silently for five min-



Chasms: Jaruzelski with papal visitor

The one house rule was quickly bent.

utes over a mound of the victims' commingled bones and ashes, tears welled in his eyes. Throughout the trip, the Pope was surrounded by legions of militia and other security personnel, whose intimidating numbers may have kept down attendance at some events. In Gdansk riot police clashed briefly with some 10,000 worshippers marching toward a Solidarity worker's monument.

The ideological chasms separating John Paul from his official hosts were evident from the minute his airplane landed at Warsaw's Okęcie Airport. Polish Leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski, noting that the martial law in effect during the Pope's last visit had been lifted shortly after his departure, warned his guest that the one matter not open to papal "initia-

tive" was "acceptance of the socialist principles of our state." It did not take long for John Paul to disregard that rule. Speaking to a group of academics at the Catholic University of Lublin, he called for a re-examination of the "very premises of the contemporary state organism," one of his most direct attacks on Marxism so far.

Nevertheless, the Pontiff surprised nearly everyone by addressing a question that even a Vatican spokesman said would not arise during the visit: diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Jaruzelski regime. Speaking to Polish bishops shortly before his departure Sunday, the Pope for the first time called for the establishment of diplomatic ties. "In the case of the so-called Catholic country," he said, "the Holy See considers relations with a given state as a normal and right thing."

For all their differences, church and state in Poland have long realized that a certain amount of cooperation is in both their interests. Jaruzelski is anxious to gain the legitimacy of diplomatic recognition by the Vatican, which was withdrawn shortly after the Communists came to power in 1948. To that end he has permitted the construction of 1,400 new churches since 1981. However, Roman Catholic officials are holding out for much more than that, including recognition of the church's formal status in Poland's constitution. The papal visit was a reminder that the church's bargaining position on such matters may now be stronger than ever. One key result of Solidarity's untimely demise has been to restore the church to its role, unique in the Communist world, as the only powerful counterweight to the government in Polish life.

—By William R. Doerner. Reported by Sam Allis and Kenneth W. Banta, with the Pope



Pilgrimage to a dark shrine: the Pope's procession rolls past a row of watchtowers on its way to Majdanek concentration camp

World

PANAMA

A Colonel Takes On the General

Charges detonate an explosion

Prosperous and calm, Panama has long been an anchor of stability in turbulent Central America. But despite the placid façade, resentment has been building against a corrupt and authoritarian government. Last week that anger burst to the surface in some of the worst violence to hit Panama in a decade. The unrest was prompted by a serious allegation, that General Manuel Antonio Noriega, 48, commander of the Panama Defense Forces and the country's most powerful figure, helped arrange the 1981 air-crash death of his predecessor, General Omar Torrijos Herrera.

The charge came from Colonel Roberto Díaz Herrera, 49, a cousin of Torrijos who retired two weeks ago as second in command of the Defense Forces. According to Díaz, Noriega conspired with the Central Intelligence Agency and a high-ranking U.S. Army officer to plant a bomb aboard Torrijos' aircraft. Díaz identified the officer as General Wallace Nutting, retired commander of the Panama-based Southern Command, which directs U.S. military operations throughout Central and South America. Both the CIA and Nutting denied the charges.

Though most analysts dismissed the possibility of U.S. involvement, the charges were enough to send thousands of angry youths into the streets to



Broken alliance: Noriega and Díaz in 1984

demand the ouster of Noriega and a return to democracy. The demonstrators constructed barricades of burning rubbish and tires, and fought pitched battles with squads of riot police nicknamed "Dobermans." At noon and 6 p.m. each day middle-class protesters hung out of their windows, waving white handkerchiefs and making an antigovernment racket by beating on pots and pans.

After three days of violence and dozens of injuries and arrests, the government declared a state of emergency, which suspended some civil rights, and sent thousands of soldiers into the streets. The show of force, together with an opposition-orchestrated general strike, restored at least the appearance of calm, but

by week's end troops again skirmished with marchers.

Colonel Díaz, meanwhile, had barricaded himself with a group of armed supporters in his garish million-dollar Panama City mansion—a domicile the newly religious and repentant military man now admits was paid for with bribes. "This is an illegitimate government that has created an institutionalized crisis," he told TIME. "I knew that the only way to change the system is to get rid of Noriega." He hopes he can foment a rebellion that will bring down the general. In addition to his accusations concerning Torrijos, Díaz charged that Noriega helped rig the 1984 presidential elections and that the Defense Forces masterminded the 1985 torture-murder of a Noriega opponent, Dr. Hugo Spadafora.

The government responded to Díaz's charges by issuing a statement that he was "suffering from a serious state of paranoia." While Noriega made no move to arrest his former colleague, President Eric Arturo Delvalle blamed the colonel and unidentified "external forces" for the rioting. Officials in Panama City have recently charged that U.S. opponents of the 1979 Panama Canal treaties are trying to undermine the government.

Noriega received little sympathy from U.S. officials, who have long been concerned that his authoritarian regime would undermine Panamanian stability. State Department Spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley called for "free and untarnished elections and the full development of an apolitical professional military institution."

—By Michael S. Serrill

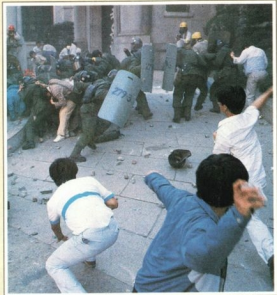
Reported by Laura López/Panama City

"Down with Dictatorship!"

Some 7,300 delegates of the ruling Democratic Justice Party gathered in Seoul's Chamsil Gymnasium last week to select their nominee for President of South Korea. What a surprise. There was only one candidate, and his acceptance speech had been printed and distributed even before the vote took place. At 2 p.m., the convention cast 7,260 votes for Party Chairman Roh Tae Woo, the handpicked successor of President Chun Doo Hwan and the almost certain winner in the national elections planned for December. By 5 p.m. thousands of demonstrators had poured into the streets of Seoul and 21 other cities to protest the nomination.

Student-led demonstrators in Seoul battled police in the most widespread protests in years. Waving Korean flags and chanting "Down with dictatorship!" one group beat police outside the huge Shinsegye department store. At the Roman Catholic Myongdong Cathedral in the heart of the city, protesters built barricades and hurled fire bombs at police, who advanced behind volleys of tear gas.

In the city of Masan, some 200 miles from Seoul, tear gas drifted into a stadium where the Korean soccer team was playing Egypt's national squad, forcing a halt to the game. When 3,000 spectators shouted in anger, 500 officers entered the stadium and emptied it of fans. In all, nearly 4,000 demonstrators were detained nationwide.



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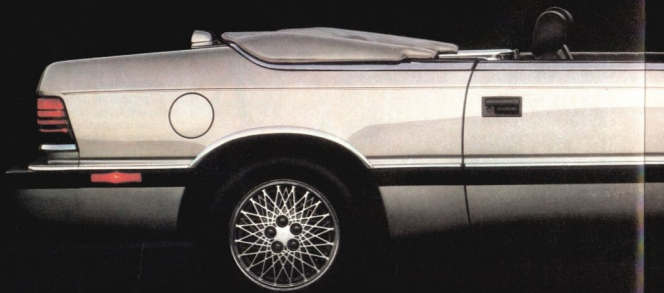
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DIPLOMACY

Flying into a Tight Corner

Will a promise to Pakistan put U.S. planes in too much danger?

Only three months ago, the Pakistani border town of Teri Mangal bustled with a busy bazaar and a steady flow of Afghan *mujahedin* rebels on their way to or from the fighting in Afghanistan. Today Teri Mangal is deserted. On March 23, Soviet-built Afghan MiGs roared across the frontier, demolishing many of the shops that sold arms to the guerrillas and leveling the simple clapboard flophouses where they bedded down for the night. The raid claimed more than 80 lives.

The Teri Mangal bombing was the first widely reported result of a Soviet and Afghan air offensive that began late last year. The targets: Afghan rebel staging areas inside Pakistan. So far this year more than 100 aerial bomb and rocket attacks inside Pakistan have claimed at least 297 lives. During all of 1986, only about 24 people were killed in similar raids. The increase in the number of strikes prompted Pakistan to send President Reagan an "extremely urgent" request for U.S. radar surveillance planes to direct Pakistani F-16s against intruders along the country's 1,400-mile border with Afghanistan.

With little public fanfare, the U.S. quickly agreed to supply the planes, which go under the acronym AWACS, for Airborne Warning and Control System. But complications in both the U.S. and Pakistan in recent weeks have dampened hopes of delivering them anytime soon. The main stumbling block is that Washington and Islamabad have been unable to agree on what type of plane would be most suitable. Washington has also been taken aback by some troubling consequences of the decision, including the possibility that it may put American soldiers in danger—and involve the U.S. more directly than ever in the Afghan war.

The chain of events that brought the Reagan Administration to the current impasse began in early 1986. At that time Washington pressured Islamabad to permit the Afghan guerrillas in Pakistan's border province to receive Stinger anti-aircraft missiles from the U.S. Pakistani President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq reluctantly went along, despite a warning from the Soviet Union that Pakistan would pay a high price. By last November, *mujahedin* equipped with Stingers were shooting down an average of one Soviet or Afghan aircraft a day. Last week, according to Radio Kabul, the rebels struck again, downing an Afghan transport plane and reportedly killing 53 people. Shortly after the

weapons began to reach the rebels last fall, Afghan air strikes inside Pakistan intensified. Now Pakistan insists that the U.S. is responsible for its defense. The Reagan Administration is concerned that if it turns its back on Islamabad, Zia might do the same to the rebels. Says Noor Husain, a veteran Pakistani defense analyst: "The U.S. has got itself in a tight corner."

At the moment, the U.S. and Pakistan



In the line of duty: Americans navigating in a dangerous situation

are discussing which craft Islamabad should buy. Pakistan wants to buy three Boeing E-3A Sentrys. The jet, which the U.S. deploys on the NATO front and in other key strategic areas, is a top-of-the-line technical marvel whose exact capabilities are classified. But Washington says it has no Sentries to spare, and has offered instead the much less sophisticated Grumman E-2C Hawkeye. Capable of tracking more than 600 targets at a range of 300 miles, the propeller-driven Hawkeye is slower and more vulnerable to attack than the Sentry.

While Islamabad ponders Washington's counteroffer, questions have been raised about who will operate the planes'



Washington's offer: the E-2C Hawkeye
Help for Zia along the Afghan border.

highly technical electronic gear. Buildings are being designed to house U.S. personnel at two Pakistani air bases, but in congressional hearings last month, Reagan Administration aides ruled out the participation of U.S. airmen or civilians.

If the U.S. eventually gives in to Pakistani entreaties and supplies technicians, they will be at risk both in the air and on the ground in Pakistan, where agents of KHAD, Afghanistan's secret service, frequently stage terror bombings. Last week three time bombs ripped through a Peshawar railway station. In addition, the deal has run into opposition from Senator John Glenn of Ohio, a Democrat who is an out-

spoken critic of Pakistan's nuclear program. Later this month Glenn plans to propose an end to all U.S. military aid until Islamabad demonstrates that it has ceased production of weapons-grade uranium.

Another potential problem is that Pakistan's original request is starting to look disingenuous, if only because the radar planes may be of little help. Afghan and Soviet MiGs fly toward Pakistan's border frequently but cross the border less often. Even then, they typically spend only a few minutes in Pakistani airspace. Says a retired Pakistani officer: "Our air force cannot scramble its F-16s every time Afghan warplanes head east."

The Afghans have the option of relying more on terror bombing, or on cross-border shelling, which alone has caused several deaths in recent weeks and forced 14,000 Pakistanis to flee from the border area.

Brigadier A.R. Siddiqi, editor of Pakistan's *Defence Journal*, admits that airborne surveillance systems would be of little military value. But like many Pakistani military officers, he believes the planes have a larger symbolic importance. "We need AWACS from a broader geostrategic perspective. It will give tangible proof of American commitment and thus add to our security."

Pakistan would especially like the planes to help offset the military superiority of India, Pakistan's enemy in three wars since 1947. New Delhi has already protested Washington's plans to send AWACS to Pakistan, with some effect. One U.S. official says the Reagan Administration has decided to hand over the planes only if their use is limited to the Afghan border region. Islamabad is unlikely to go along with such a requirement. The outcome of the AWACS debate may depend on who blinks first. Washington is reluctant to jeopardize its ability to help the *mujahedin*, and Pakistan does not wish to risk a serious breach with the U.S., its main supplier of arms and vital economic aid.

—By Edward W. Desmond.
Reported by David Alkman/Washington and Ross H. Munro/Teri Mangal

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World

IDEAS

How to Keep the Dragons Happy

The Chinese art of feng shui can ensure a prosperous building

Once erected, the Bank of China's new tower in Hong Kong will twist 70 stories upward like a megalomaniac Rubik's Cube. Its four triangular shafts will anchor their glassy rhomboids to a square base graced with traditional Chinese motifs. Designed for Peking's state bank by famed U.S. Architect I.M. Pei, the \$128 million building is a Communist bow to Hong Kong's modern, money-chasing spirit. But the Communist bankers made one major blunder: they forgot to consult the masters of *feng shui* (pronounced fung shway). As a result, a hex could fall on the tower's capitalist neighbors.

Invented more than 2,000 years ago in China as a quasiscientific land-surveying technique, *feng shui* (literally, wind and water) has evolved into an esoteric mix of geomancy and architectural fortune-telling. The *feng shui* masters in Hong Kong and their counterparts in Taiwan, Singapore and other places with large Chinese populations can measure a building's ability to attract riches and prosperity based on the structure's shape, direction, location and the presence or absence of benevolent dragons in the area. Even with a surveying charge of \$12.50 per sq. ft., the geomancers are in great demand.

People in Hong Kong rarely build without first getting a *feng shui* reading of architectural plans. Merchants believe business failures occur when the natural, harmonious movement of spirits is thrown into confusion by misplaced pillars, tables, windows or television antennas. With good *feng shui*, money flows in; with bad *feng shui* money flows out. Hong Kong's colonial government has long compensated rural villagers whose *feng shui* has been disrupted by land development. Together with the worship of Mammon, belief in *feng shui* appears to be Hong Kong's dominant religion.

Without the approval of a *feng shui* master, the Bank of China building, still a hole in the ground in central Hong Kong, is off to an inauspicious start. Since last month a number of preliminary *feng shui* studies have begun, and much of the news was not good. While the building will stand on the most propitious geological line in the colony, some masters believe the triangular elements of the structure spell bad luck. Reason: the acute, pointy edges would slice through the yin-yang, or cosmic balance, thus pricking and angering unwary spirits, who would then direct their anger at buildings toward which the triangles pointed. Though the unauthorized *feng shui* readings seem to indicate that the Bank of China would gain at the

expense of others, the psychic note of aggression was far from the comradeship Peking hoped to project. The building, in short, would anger not only the spirits but the neighbors.

Most Hong Kong enterprises avoid such bad vibrations by contracting with a *feng shui* master while their buildings are still in the planning stage. The ultramodern \$650 million Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building, which the Bank of China tower would rival for dominance of the city's skyline, prudently had its blueprints vetted by *feng shui* experts. For a

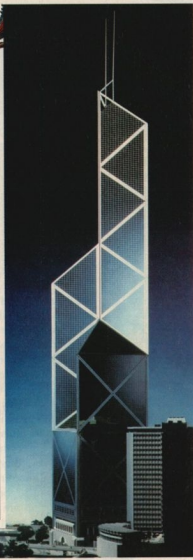
fee of several thousand dollars, a *feng shui* master advised moving a bank officer's door away from a nearby escalator to preserve the delicate yin-yang. Management, mindful of the *feng shui* faith of the Hong Kong Chinese, the bank's main customers, complied. In Singapore, which is 76% Chinese, the newly completed Hyatt Regency was suffering from a lack of business in 1971 when a *feng shui* master advised that the hotel's fountain and facade be remodeled to rid the hotel of unhappy spirits and lure back Chinese guests discouraged by stories of its bad *feng shui*. The occupancy rate is now said to be gratifyingly higher.

Alluding to the sometimes bizarre recommendations of *feng shui* masters, an ancient Chinese proverb states, "If you invite a geomancer into your house, you may as well start packing to move now." Hong Kong's Exchange Square building has managed to remain on its site—with a few strategic revisions. During his survey, *Feng Shui* Master Chung Ying-Mei decreed that the structure's base must form a U shape, which he claimed was much more receptive to the good fortune emanating from the bay. Architect Remo Riva complied. Says Riva: "He said we should also put up an antenna to channel *feng shui* waves into the building. Barring that, he suggested we put a hole in the roof." The building now has a skylight.

Labor relations are heavily dependent on *feng shui*. "If we didn't go along with the local staff's beliefs, they might just decide to stay at home one day," says Michael Mathews, vice president of the international sales and marketing division for Hong Kong's glittering Regent Hotel. In the Regent's case, the *feng shui* master recommended that the hotel set up a panoramic picture window facing Hong Kong Harbor to allow the nine dragons who live nearby to have access to their favorite bathing spot on the bay. Dragons, it seems, do not know how to use doors but can easily pass through glass. Says the hotel's public relations chief, Lynn Grebstad: "No one wants nine irritated dragons stranded in the lobby."

Though the location of Peking itself was fixed by classic *feng shui* masters of the 13th century, the Chinese Communists have condemned the art as "superstition," severely limiting its practice on the mainland. That may yet undermine China's attempt to assimilate the capitalist spirits of Hong Kong, which is scheduled to come under Peking's control in 1997. Thus local businessmen and ordinary citizens regard the Bank of China's *feng shui* dilemma with a polite silence, avoiding any embarrassment to the People's Republic. Meanwhile, as work proceeds on the unlucky building, the Communists have refrained from commenting on its future. The dragons are not talking either.

—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.
Reported by Tad Stoner and Bing Wong/
Hong Kong



Enter the geomancers: I.M. Pei's design for the Bank of China
A Communist bow to capitalism or a hex on the neighbors?

EVOLUTION OF THE SPECIES



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it maintain its poise under varying loads, computer regulated leveling units automatically adjust ride height. Four wheel disc brakes are complemented by a Bosch anti-lock (ABS) system, which helps the driver maintain steering control when braking hard on a slippery road.

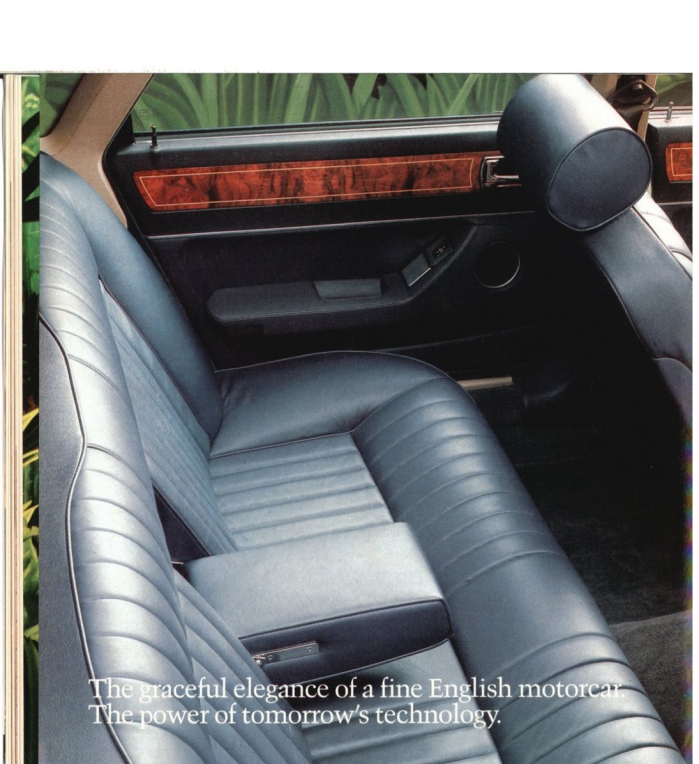
A most advanced species, the new Jaguar incorporates seven microprocessors for regulation of

its mechanical and driver information systems. Low current earth-line switching circuitry, similar to that used on modern aircraft, helps ensure that all of the machine's electronic devices will serve the Jaguar motorist for years to come.

From the hot and dusty Australian outback to the frozen tundra of Northern Canada, the new breed Jaguar has roamed the globe, proving its mettle through

5.5 million miles of testing, on the track and on the road.

The most thoroughly proven automobile ever introduced by Jaguar, this sophisticated machine is protected by a three year/36,000 mile warranty and Jaguar's unique Service-On-SiteSM Roadside Assistance Plan. This comprehensive program provides for free roadside help and trip interruption benefits should your Jaguar become disabled.

A photograph of the front interior of a Jaguar car. The view is from the passenger side looking towards the driver's seat. The seats are upholstered in dark blue leather with horizontal ribbing. The door panel and center console also feature this leather. A horizontal strip of burl wood trim is visible on the upper part of the door panel. The steering wheel and dashboard are partially visible on the right side of the frame.

The graceful elegance of a fine English motorcar.
The power of tomorrow's technology.

The serenely silent Jaguar cabin, graced with supple, fragrant leather and fine wood, cossets the driver and passengers in orthopedically designed seats. From hand stitched hides to burl walnut with matchwood inlays, the new breed Jaguar maintains the tradition of handcrafted luxury that has long characterized the marque.

The Old World splendor of the Jaguar's cabin is enhanced by so-

phisticated information, comfort and entertainment features. The precisely formed front seats adjust electrically in eight different directions, allowing each driver to find the most correct and supportive position. The Jaguar dashboard is the product of years of research and study: all important switches are within easy reach. Steering column stalks, which control vital functions, move with the telescop-

ing steering column. A computer-controlled Vehicle Condition Monitor checks 27 critical systems and displays pictorial and alphanumeric warnings for 14 different problems. A trip computer provides important information in nine categories.

So that the Jaguar driver and passengers will remain comfortable even when the outside temperature is extreme, a comput-



erized climate control system regulates not only heating and air conditioning but humidity as well. An 80-watt stereo system, with six perfectly positioned speakers, achieves sound quality rivaling fine home equipment.

Some seven years in development, the new breed Jaguar is the product of dreams, of vision, of dedication. The culmination of half a century of remarkably dis-

tinctive and inimitably luxurious Jaguar automobiles, the new breed XJ6 takes its place among the great Jaguars of all time. As *AutoWeek* notes, "We find the new Jaguar sedan a worthy addition to the A-list of the world's finest cars."

We proudly offer the new Jaguar XJ6 and special edition Vanden Plas sedans for your inspection and test drive. For the name of the Jaguar dealer nearest you, call

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52-Week	Stock	Div	Sales	100% High	Low	Last	Chg.
High	Low						

	A	B	C	D
ABE	.80	5	1979	1979 +1
ACC		28	200	270
CD	.32	270	1979	270

David,
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and miss your stop!
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World Notes



Nicaragua: higher prices and longer lines in Managua

NICARAGUA

We'd Like to Help You, But...

In Managua, gasoline lines stretched for blocks last week as drivers rushed to service stations before the pumps ran dry. The panic buying followed an order by the Marxist-oriented Sandinista government that nearly tripled gas prices and sent the cost of basic goods soaring. Managua acted after announcing three weeks ago that the Soviet Union, which provides virtually all of Nicaragua's oil directly or through Eastern Europe, could supply only 40% of the country's petroleum needs. The Soviets have been surprisingly candid about their aims. Said a high-ranking Mexican official after meeting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze last December: "He made it clear that the Soviet Union can no longer afford to support Nicaragua or any other Latin American revolution the way it supports Cuba."

THE PHILIPPINES

Dante Escapes An Inferno

Minutes before midnight, men posted on both sides of a street in suburban Manila opened fire on a passing car, killing two people and wounding Bernardo Buscayno, 43, the proba-

ble target of the ambush. Attacks by urban guerrillas of the left and right are not unusual in Manila, but this time the public furor was enormous.

Buscayno, or Commander Dante as he is popularly known, is something of a legend in the Philippines. The alleged commander in chief of the Communist New People's Army from its founding in 1969 until his capture in 1977, Dante pledged to fight for his ideals from within the system after President Corazon Aquino released him from jail in 1986. Though he lost a bid for the Senate last month, Dante was warmly received even by people who did not agree with him. After reports surfaced last week that the attackers were dressed in army fatigues, a military spokesman said, "The army is not so stupid as to ambush Buscayno."

While Commander Dante is the focus of anger from the right over his ideology and from the left over his disavowal of violence, no group has claimed responsibility for the attack. Aquino sent a basket of fruit to Dante's hospital room.

SOVIET UNION

The Men Who Caused a Cloud

The Soviets last week disclosed three names that may soon become widely known: Plant Director Viktor Bryukhanov, Chief Engineer N. Fomin and

a deputy chief engineer identified only as Dyatlov. The names were virtually unaccompanied by biography except for the charge against them: "criminal negligence" in connection with the explosion last year that ripped apart Reactor No. 4 near the Ukrainian town of Chernobyl. Maximum penalty: 15 years in jail.

In the 14 months since the world's worst civilian nuclear accident, Moscow has been slowly fixing blame for the disaster, which killed 31 people, hospitalized hundreds and caused severe environmental damage. Until last week no one had been charged with a crime. The trial starts next month in the building that was Chernobyl's cultural center before the town was evacuated.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The Emperor Has No Clothes

When deposed Emperor Bokassa I returned to the Central African Republic from Europe last October after seven years in exile, he apparently expected to be hailed as a conquering hero. Instead, he was promptly tried on some of the same charges for which he had been convicted in absentia and sentenced to death in 1980: murder, embezzlement and other crimes committed during his heinous 14-year rule.

Day after day, the country listened in amazement to the

court proceedings on the radio. By the end, says a Western diplomat, the former emperor had been "demythologized" in the eyes of his countrymen. Last week a court again found him guilty and reimposed the death sentence. Bokassa has appealed the verdict.

CHINA

Being and Nothingness

As his life drew near its sordid end, Liu Yong, 22, took to wearing nothing but black. In perhaps a more telling symptom of his decadence, the engineering student and former Communist Youth League officer read the existentialist works of Sartre and Nietzsche, wrote solipsistic essays and handed out calling cards identifying himself as the Count of Monte Cristo. Failing all his courses, he boasted that he would someday be famous. Last March, he knifed a young woman to death and then electrocuted himself.

The latest target in the drive against Western ideas, Liu has become the subject of a write-in series in the conservative Peking Daily. Qu Xiao, an educator recently acclaimed as a "model" Communist, submitted his interpretation last week: "Liu's outlook was based on self-centeredness, self-design, self-struggle and self-importance. All these lead to self-destruction."



WM. FRANKLIN MCMAHON

A group of the airline's pilots at Chicago's O'Hare Airport: now they may be closer to ownership of the company

Economy & Business

United Once More

By shucking its new name and failed strategy, Allegis plans to fly high again

Look out, Texas Air and American! Fasten your seat belts, TWA and Delta! The old United Airlines is aiming to make a comeback—under new leadership. And forget about that weird name Allegis, which Builder Donald Trump said was “better suited to the next world-class disease.” The new chairman plans to scuttle that moniker, along with the company’s dubious strategy of being a sprawling travel conglomerate that rents cars and runs hotels. From now on, United will concentrate on the airline business, this time with its pilots eyeing roles in the boardroom as well as in the cockpit. After years of inner turmoil, the company is determined to recapture its onetime dominance of the friendly skies.

Just as a starter, the airline last week flew some of the fanciest loops and passes ever seen in corporate aviation. After a pressurized seven-hour meeting of its board of directors, the 52-year-old firm announced that Chairman Richard Ferris, 50, had resigned and would be replaced by Frank Olson, 54, who is currently head of the company’s Hertz rental-car subsidiary. At the same time,

for-sale signs were tacked onto Hertz as well as the Westin and Hilton International hotel chains, whose 149 hostilities constituted the third branch of the firm. Management also said it would seriously consider demands by the pilots for employee ownership. Finally, Olson recommended that the company’s name, which had been changed only six weeks ago from UAL to Allegis (a combination of the words allegiance and aegis) at a cost of some \$7.3 million, be returned to what it was originally: United Airlines.

The upheaval was the almost inevitable result of attacks on Allegis from all sides. Its pilots were pressing to buy the airline because they felt Ferris was spending too much time and money buying hotels, to the detriment of the company’s core business. Meanwhile, dissident shareholders, led by a trio of Manhattan-based investors called Coniston Partners, launched a campaign to oust management, arguing that the company would be worth far more if it were broken into pieces and sold. The critics pointed to the firm’s lackluster financial performance: its net income was only \$11.6 million last

year on revenues of \$9.2 billion, and the airline itself lost \$80.6 million.

The 7,000 United pilots had never forgiven Ferris for a bitter 1985 labor confrontation. The chairman demanded that United employees accept a two-tier wage system that would relegate newly hired pilots to a lower pay scale. In protest the



Incoming Boss Frank Olson

pilots staged a 29-day strike, but Ferris prevailed and set up the new wage system anyway. He insisted that the carrier needed lower costs to meet the challenge of cut-rate competitors like Texas Air, which through a series of mergers has eclipsed Allegis to become the largest U.S. airline company, with both Continental and Eastern now under its wing.

The recent events that led to Ferris' downfall began last April, when the United pilots proposed a \$4.5 billion employee buy-out of the airline. The plan called for employees to raise \$2.3 billion and assume \$2.2 billion of United's debt. The pilots, who earn an average of \$85,000, volunteered to give up as much as 25% of their pay and pitch in some \$300 million from their pension funds to help make the purchase. Flight attendants and pilots began sporting buttons that read **UNITED/BUY UNITED**. Company management scorned the offer as "grossly inadequate," but Wall Street's interest was sparked. The price of the firm's stock rose from \$9 to 72 in three days.

One of the first major investors to begin sniping at management was New York City Developer Trump, who bought just under 5% of the company's stock and hinted that he might join in the pilots' takeover effort. But Trump sold his stake in the airline for a reported profit of \$55 million. In the meantime, the little-known Coniston Partners had been quietly amassing shares, and suddenly emerged as Allegis' largest shareholder. Brandishing a 13% stake in the firm, the partnership announced its intentions to overthrow the Allegis board, name its own slate of directors and sell off the company piece by piece.

It was a threat that Allegis could not take lightly. Coniston Partners has been terrorizing companies ever since 1982, when it was formed by Investors Augustus Oliver, 37, Paul Tierney, 44, and Keith Gollust, 42, who together put up an original investment of only \$3 million. The partners have rung up more than \$100 million in profits since, by forcing restructuring plans and boosting stock values at Cyploc, Storer Communications, NL Industries, Viacom International and Gelco. Nonetheless, the three men still take the

New York City subway to work every morning, avoiding limousines and other costly perks. Says Tierney: "We preach leanness and efficiency. We practice what we preach."

Confronted by the specter of these raiders on their doorstep, the Allegis directors unveiled on May 28 a recapitalization plan as a new takeover defense. Under its provisions, the company would take on more than \$3 billion in additional debt and then give stockholders a \$60 cash payment for every share they owned. Company officials apparently believed the huge new debt would make Allegis a less attractive takeover target and that the cash payout would placate Coniston and other restive shareholders. They were wrong. The pilots still talked takeover, and Coniston pressed forward with its

have to. By the time the session broke up at 10 p.m., Ferris had voluntarily stepped down. Any sympathy for the chairman was tempered by the fact that strapped firmly on his back was a recently negotiated "golden parachute" calling for compensation of \$2.9 million over the next five years.

New Chairman Olson, a finance whiz who began his career as night man on a rental-car desk at San Francisco International Airport while he was studying accounting, has a reputation as an impatient boss who is equally demanding of labor and management. "If the pilots thought Ferris was tough," says an Allegis executive who has worked with both men, "wait till they have to deal with Frank Olson." Maybe so, but immediately after his appointment last week Olson telephoned



Coniston Partners Gollust, Tierney and Oliver could make a \$200 million profit

They wanted to break up the sprawling conglomerate and sell it off piece by piece.

proposal to break up the company, maintaining that Allegis stock, then hovering in the 80s, remained undervalued.

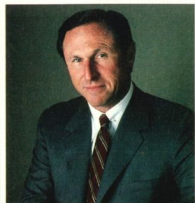
Beginning on Friday June 5, the Allegis board conducted several emergency meetings through telephone conference calls. Then Ferris convened a 3 p.m. session last Tuesday at the Manhattan offices of Morgan Stanley, one of the 17 directors present were Ferris, Olson, former Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps, Chairman Richard Cooley of Seattle's Seafirst banking company, and Charles Luce, former chairman of New York City's Consolidated Edison power company. The directors were ready for decisive action, and before the meeting had even started, Luce told Chairman Ferris that his job was on the line.

Nonetheless, the board members painstakingly reviewed their options: the pilots' buy-out bid, Coniston's breakup proposal and Ferris' recapitalization plan. As the meeting dragged on into the evening, says an Allegis official, "it became clear that Ferris' strategy would not survive." The directors would undoubtedly have asked him to resign, but they did not

each of United's union leaders to discuss their concerns. Ferris had seldom spoken with any of them.

Despite Olson's appointment, the company's future is still unsettled. For now, Coniston Partners says it will support the new management because Olson intends to sell off Hertz and the hotel chains for some \$3 billion. Because of the run-up in value of Allegis stock, which closed last week at 91%, the partnership could make a tidy profit of about \$200 million on its \$520 million investment.

The company seems likely to sell a major chunk of the airline to employees. The pilots still plan to push for a controlling interest, but the machinists' union has said it does not want workers to have a majority stake. No matter who controls the carrier, it will need to lower operating costs. With that in mind, the pilots are sticking to their pledge to take a 25% pay cut if the employees become owners. They know that when United slashes costs, the airline will be better able to fight the fare wars fiercely and make the skies a lot less friendly for competitors. — *By Janice Castro. Reported by Lee Griggs/Chicago and Thomas McCarroll/New York*



Outgoing Chairman Richard Ferris

Corporate Angst on Capitol Hill

The Democrats push for a passel of pro-labor bills

For most of the past six years, being a business lobbyist in Washington has been a cushy assignment. In the laissez-faire atmosphere created by the Reagan Administration, Congress seemed unusually reluctant to put new legislative shackles on America's corporations. But now that the Democrats have regained control of the Senate and the White House's power has been weakened by Intransigent, business finds itself on the defensive. Corporate lobbyists are fighting a bevy of labor-supported bills that might be beneficial to workers but would impose new costs and burdens on corporations. Says Dirk Van Dongen, president of the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors (N.A.W.): "It is real warfare."

A passel of pending legislation would affect almost every aspect of the relationship between management and workers. If some leading congressional Democrats and their labor-union allies are successful, companies will have to pay a higher minimum wage, provide a Government-mandated menu of health-care benefits for all workers and offer unpaid leave and guaranteed job security to employees who leave work temporarily when they become parents. Other bills would set up new rules governing unionization, plant closings and on-the-job safety.

The flurry of proposals dramatizes the renewed clout of organized labor in the corridors of Congress. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, a West Virginia Democrat, is more receptive when labor buzzes in his ear than was his predecessor, Republican Robert Dole of Kansas. Massachusetts Democrat Edward Kennedy, an avid defender of workers, has replaced the decidedly less sympathetic Utah Republican Orrin Hatch as chairman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. Democrats who are friendly to or received campaign money from the labor movement are in positions to help along the bulk of the business-related legislation. Boasts AFL-CIO Executive Howard Samuel: "We control the committees and the agenda on the floor."

Recognizing the challenge they face, business groups have mounted a full-court defense. Van Dongen's N.A.W. can delve into a computer bank that lists 10,000 members who have ranked how well they know legislators on a scale from "slightly" to "very well." The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, meanwhile, is organizing a mammoth letter-writing campaign to Congress. Its message: the raft of legisla-

tion would drive up business costs while American companies are already losing markets to foreign competitors.

One of the most hotly debated proposals is a Senate bill introduced by Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum. It would force companies to notify unions up to six months in advance of plant closings and substantial layoffs. A version that passed the House Labor Committee last week goes even further, requiring employ-



ers to consult with unions before making such decisions. "With advance notice, workers can begin to look for new jobs," says AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Donahue. But critics charge that the bills would sharply limit management's flexibility. In an editorial, the *Detroit News* called the legislation "Metzenbaum." Executives at Pittsburgh-based USX, which has been in the throes of restructuring its steelmaking operations, contend that such a law would have forced them to consult with employee groups 28 times in the first half of 1986, leading to divisive confrontations that would have sapped management's time and cost the company millions of dollars.

Equally controversial is a bill that would prohibit the widespread construction-industry practice known as "double-breasting," in which companies operate two subsidiaries, one unionized and the

other nonunion. Critics charge that this practice is merely a way for firms to circumvent collective-bargaining agreements. If the proposed bill passes, these companies would have to choose to be either exclusively union or nonunion. Labor leaders believe the law would produce more unionized shops, but some companies indicate they might try to shut out their unions. Such is the case at Phelps Inc., a 2,000-employee construction firm based in Greeley, Colo., that engages in double-breasting. Insists Co-Owner Robert Ruyle: "The unions are shooting themselves in the foot."

Nearly 3.5 million Americans could be directly affected by a bill that would raise the minimum wage nearly 40%, to \$4.65 an hour, by 1990. Supporters note that the minimum has been \$3.35 since 1981. Opponents argue that such a law would discourage firms from hiring unskilled young workers.

Another costly bill that makes businesses queasy is Kennedy's plan to require them to pay at least 80% of employees' insurance premiums for hospital care, physicians' fees and diagnostic tests. Says John Sweeney, president of the 850,000-member Service Employees International Union of the AFL-CIO: "The bill promises relief for low-wage earners, part-time workers and taxpayers who have had to pick up the tab" for medical costs. But the bill would lay a new \$20 billion-a-year burden on businesses, which currently are not required to offer health-care benefits.

Another pro-labor bill would require the Government to notify employees when they have been exposed to hazardous substances in the workplace. Even though the legislation has won the endorsement of the Chemical Manufacturers Association and major employers like IBM, most business leaders oppose it. Their fear: the law would lead to a blizzard of lawsuits.

Among all the pro-labor bills, the measures that stand the best chance of passing Congress this year are the ones involving plant closings, minimum wages and high-risk notification. This week the House is expected to vote on, and is likely to approve, the double-breasting legislation. The issues of mandated health care and parental leave will probably languish until next year. Labor does not expect to win every battle and realizes that some laws may have to be passed by overriding a presidential veto. But the pro-worker lobby is pushing to get as much as it can as fast as it can. After all, 1988 is an election year, and the political climate can be as fickle as the weather.

—By Gordon Bock.
Reported by Gisela Bolte and Michael Duffy/Washington

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Rotten Shame

Who will pick the crops?

Turned sweet and bright red by unusually warm spring weather, Oregon's strawberries ripened early this year into a bounteous crop of some 80 million lbs. But last week Roy Malensky, a grower in Hillsboro, Ore., who supplies berries for such products as Breyers Ice Cream and Dannon Yogurt, stood in his giant strawberry patch and mourned row upon row of darkened, spoiled fruit. His expected loss: \$100,000. To the north, meanwhile, Richard Cowin, a black-cherry grower in Wapato, Wash., watched downheartedly as his crop began to shrivel in the sun.

The rotting shame developing in the Pacific Northwest last week was only the first sign of a crisis that could spread through other agricultural regions of the U.S. this summer as an unintended consequence of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The problem: a dire shortage of migrant workers, many of them illegal aliens from Mexico who are staying home or sticking close to the border this summer because they are afraid of deportation under the new law. Last week more than one-third of Oregon's \$30 million strawberry crop was rotting because only about half the state's usual contingent of 20,000 migrant workers have shown up this spring. Declaring the situa-



Roy Malensky mourns his darkened berries
Oregon could lose as much as \$300 million.

tion an "unprecedented labor crisis," Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt predicted that the state would lose as much as \$300 million of its usual \$1 billion annual crop of fruits, vegetables and flowers.

The spectacle of wasted crops spread jitters across the rest of the Farmbelt, especially in northern states that depend on migrants from the Southwest. In the Fruit Ridge region of Michigan, growers are scrambling to find cherry pickers, but the

real worry is about the peach crop in July and apple harvest in August through October. Other worker shortages could reach from the tobacco fields of the Carolinas to the poultry farms of Texas.

The new immigration law provides tough penalties for employers who fail to make sure that every one of their alien workers possesses a temporary resident permit. To obtain that status, alien farm laborers must prove that they worked in U.S. agriculture for at least 90 days in each of the past three years, or in just one year if they harvested perishable crops. Workers are staying away right now because they fear getting caught without the permit, thus jeopardizing their chances for permanent residence and eventual U.S. citizenship. Many Mexicans are still struggling with their applications for permits, which in many cases must be filed through the U.S. embassy in Mexico City.

Even when more migrant workers get their permits, farm laborer shortages are unlikely to go away. Once aliens obtain legal status, they will no longer be quite so willing to do tedious, low-paying farm work, since they can then apply for any job they want. Thus growers are already beginning to boost wages for pickers of apricots and cherries by as much as 30%, to \$6 an hour in some areas. As a result, some varieties of fruit may cost the consumer 4% to 6% more this summer than last.

—By Stephen Koeppe, Reported by Alan Ota/Portland and Richard Woodbury/Houston

Making Oodles of Boodle

Wall Street has generated plenty of scandal in the past year, but it has been even better at cranking out rewards for canny investors. In its second annual listing of the financial community's biggest money-makers, the biweekly *Financial World* heavily underlined that fact. The top ten names on the magazine's list of 100 superstars earned an average of \$68.8 million each in 1986, up from \$51.1 million in 1985.

At the very top of the list was Michel David-Weill, 54, a senior partner at the Manhattan-based Lazard Frères investment firm. According to *Financial World*, David-Weill earned an estimated \$125 million last year. He had pulled down only an estimated \$50 million in 1985. (Lazard Frères disputes the 1986 *Financial World* figure, arguing that David-Weill earned only somewhere between \$65 million and \$75 million last year.)

Ranked just below David-Weill on the *Financial World* roster were such eminences as George Soros, 56, president of Manhattan's Soros Fund Management (\$90 million to \$100

million); Richard Dennis, 38, a partner in Chicago-based C&D Commodities (\$80 million); and Junk Bond King Michael Milken, 40, senior executive vice president of the Drexel Burnham Lambert investment firm (up to \$80 million). Not far behind, at \$65 million or so, was J. Morton Davis, 58, chairman and president of D.H. Blair, a Manhattan investment bank that specializes in stock offerings for health-care firms.

Sharing equally in their firm's good fortunes this year were three partners of the San Francisco- and Manhattan-based investment firm of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts. Masters of the so-called leveraged buyout, Jerome Kohlberg, 62, Henry Kravis, 43, and George Roberts, 44, each earned \$50 million. Neck and neck were former Treasury Secretary William Simon, 59, chairman of Wesray Capital in Morristown, N.J., an investment firm, and Raymond Chambers, 44, president of that company. They pulled down an estimated \$45 million to \$50 million each.

Absent from *Financial World*'s list this year was 1985's top money earner, Arbitrator Ivan Boesky. The man who reportedly made \$100 million that year awaits sentencing on charges related to his insider-trading activities.



Michel David-Weill
\$125 million



George Soros
\$100 million



Richard Dennis
\$80 million



Michael Milken
\$80 million



J. Morton Davis
\$65 million



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decided that small things
could be giant and
giant things, small...



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Business Notes



Banking: A.W. Clausen spoke too soon about getting back in the black

BANKING

Another Hit Where It Hurts

After BankAmerica had suffered losses of \$855 million over the past two years, Chairman A.W. Clausen gamely reassured stockholders last month that the unpleasant surprises were over. By year's end, he promised, the nation's second largest banking company would be back in the black. Clausen spoke too soon. Last week BankAmerica announced that it expected a staggering second-quarter loss of \$1 billion, the largest in its history.

The setback stemmed from an accounting change that put aside \$1.1 billion in case the bank's Latin American debtors start defaulting on \$7.3 billion in loans. This dose of preventive medicine, prompted by arch-rival Citicorp's similar move, may eventually strengthen BankAmerica. But it could force the company to sell off some major assets, including the Seattle-based Seafirst bank, acquired in 1983.

INVESTING

When in Doubt, Sit and Talk

The \$220 billion securities industry hailed the decision. Eugene and Julia McMahon of Yonkers, N.Y., reviled it. In a ruling of vital concern to small

investors everywhere, the U.S. Supreme Court last week came out in favor of arbitration over litigation as a means of settling disputes between stockbrokers and their clients.

The court's ruling involved a suit by the McMahons, who own a funeral home, against giant Shearson Lehman/American Express. Back in 1984 the McMahons charged that their Shearson broker had churned their brokerage accounts, meaning that a variety of trading transactions were conducted solely to increase the brokerage commissions. The McMahons' contract with Shearson provided that disputes involving the handling of the account should be settled by private arbitration. By upholding that provision, the court ensured that brokerages will be able to divert hundreds of lawsuits from the courthouse to the arbitration room. Shearson estimates that it will save \$5 million to \$10 million in legal fees annually as a result.

LABOR

Strange Doings In the Tower

Ronald Reagan probably thought he had seen the last of unions in the control tower six years ago, after he fired 11,400 striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization. Now the nonunion replacements for the old PATCO members are 12,800

strong and have just formed—you guessed it—a union. This one is called NATCA (for National Air Traffic Controllers Association), and last week it won certification by a 2-to-1 vote.

Some grievances have not changed: autocratic management, antiquated equipment, too few controllers, too many planes. But the new union's leaders say they do not intend to repeat PATCO's mistakes. In particular, they will not demand the right to strike.

TAXES

Fightin' Fannie Vs. Uncle Sam

Did Fannie Mae make a big mistake on her tax returns? Yes, says the Internal Revenue Service. A tax court heard arguments last week in a dispute between the IRS and the Federal National Mortgage Association, the former Government agency that is now privately owned and known as Fannie Mae. In April 1986 the IRS declared that Fannie Mae had taken improper deductions and owed some \$200 million in back taxes and interest. Fannie Mae paid up, but is suing to get a refund.

The case centers on the activities of Fannie Mae, which buys mortgages from lending institutions and sells them to investors, during the early 1980s. At that time the organization decided to swap large

numbers of mortgages whose value had been depressed by high interest rates for similar mortgages held by savings and loan associations. Reason: both parties in the deal incurred losses that they thought could be written off their taxes. But the IRS later ruled that these were paper losses that could not be deducted.

While Fannie Mae is fighting for a refund, the implications go far beyond that one organization. If it loses the case, dozens of savings and loan associations—some of them financially troubled—will also owe millions of dollars in back taxes.

EXPORTS

Abe Lincoln In Yokohama

For all their pride and manufacturing prowess, the Japanese recognize that there are a few things that Americans know how to make best: hamburgers, soft drinks and, now, log cabins. Montana-based Alpine Log Homes, which has supplied handcrafted, custom-made log structures to U.S. national parks and forests for half a century, has agreed to sell \$3 million worth of its products to a Japanese architectural firm, mainly for use in recreational areas. The bet is that Japanese vacationers, weary of crowded cities and suburbs, will enjoy a bit of Abe Lincoln-style living.



Exports: Japan ordered \$3 million worth of Montana-made log homes



Aerostar... America's new best seller.*

Ford Aerostar. It does so much so well that more buyers chose it than any other mini-van.

The Age of Aerostar.

The time is right for a vehicle so versatile it seats up to seven in roomy comfort.** Carries 50% more cargo than big conventional wagons. Tows nearly 2½ tons.** And now, with its new folding seat-bed option, even converts to a sleeper!***

Aerodynamic good looks.

The Aerostar's shape distinguishes it from anything else on the road. It's designed with the modern, aerodynamic look approved by today's informed buyers.

It's also designed to make everything you do—loading, entering, driving, hauling, parking—easy to do.

V-6 power standard.

Aerostar gives you Ford's spirited 3.0L V-6 standard. This advanced engine has multiport elec-



tronic fuel injection. And it packs the performance of 145 horsepower—more than any Dodge Caravan engine can offer!

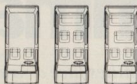
You've got pull.

With its powerful V-6, Aerostar can be equipped to tow boats or trailers as big as 4,900 lbs.** That's over a ton more than Dodge Caravan!

Inside versatility.

Aerostar provides many arrangements of buckets, Captain's Chairs, bench seats and new folding seat-bed. Rear seats slide out to create a

huge cargo area. And an optional roof rack adds still more capacity!



Easy entry, easy ride.

Step height is comfortably low, but you sit tall with a commanding view of traffic. Aerostar rides on a luxury-car wheelbase of 119 inches, longest of any standard mini-van.

On the road... or on the town.

Aerostar's luxurious room and ride make long trips a pleasure. But around town, this trim-size Ford maneuvers and parks with ease. It fits your lifestyle—as well as your garage.

6-Year/60,000-Mile Powertrain Warranty.

New Ford Powertrain Limited Warranty covers every new 1987 car or light truck for 6 years or 60,000 miles, whichever comes first. Restrictions and deductible apply. See your Ford Dealer for a copy.

Lifetime Service Guarantee.

Participating Ford Dealers stand behind their customer-paid work, in writing, with a free Lifetime Service Guarantee for as long as you own your Ford car or light truck. Ask to see this Guarantee when you visit your participating Ford Dealer.

Buckle up— together we can save lives.

*Based on manufacturer's reported model year retail deliveries through January 31, 1987.

**Seats seven with optional rear bench seat. Towing rating is reduced by passenger and cargo weight in towing vehicle. Seat-bed optional on XL only.

Ford Aerostar vs. Dodge Caravan

	AEROSTAR	CARAVAN
Standard engine	V-6	Four Cyl.
Multiport fuel injection	YES	NO
Bigger standard cargo space (cu. ft.)	139	125
Extra driver legroom	41.4 in.	38.3 in.
Max. opt. trailer towing capacity	4900 lbs.	2750 lbs.
Longer standard wheelbase	119 in.	112 in.



Living



COVER STORIES

The Child-Care Dilemma

Millions of U.S. families face a wrenching question: Who's minding the kids?



The smell of wet paint wafts through the house on a tree-lined street on Chicago's North Side. Marena McPherson, 37, chose a peach tint for the nursery: a gender-neutral color. But the paint had a will of its own and dried a blushing shade of pink. Ah well, no time to worry about that. With the baby due in less than a month, there are too many other concerns. Like choosing a name, furnishing the baby's room, reading up on infant care and attending childbirth classes. Above all, McPherson must tackle the overriding problem that now confronts most expectant American mothers: Who will care for this precious baby when she returns to work?

An attorney who helps run a Chicago social-service agency, McPherson has accumulated two months of paid sick leave and vacation time. She plans to spend an additional four months working part

time, but then she must return to her usual full schedule. So for several months she has been exhaustively researching the local child-care scene. The choices, she has learned, are disappointingly few. Only two day-care centers in Chicago accept infants; both are expensive, and neither appeals. "With 20 or 30 babies, it's probably all they can do to get each child's needs met," says McPherson. She would prefer having a baby-sitter come to her home. "That way there's a sense of security and family." But she worries about the cost and reliability: "People will quit, go away for the summer, get sick." In an ideal world, she says, she would choose someone who reflects her own values and does not spend the day watching soaps. "I suspect I will have to settle for things not being perfect."

That anxiety has become a standard rite of passage for American parents. Beaver's family, with Ward Cleaver off to

work in his suit and June in her apron in the kitchen, is a vanishing breed. Less than a fifth of American families now fit that model, down from a third 15 years ago. Today more than 60% of mothers with children under 14 are in the labor force. Even more striking: about half of American women are making the same painful decision as McPherson and returning to work before their child's first birthday. Most do so because they have to: seven out of ten working mothers say they need their salaries to make ends meet.

With both Mom and Dad away at the office or store or factory, the child-care crunch has become the most wrenching personal problem facing millions of American families. In 1986, 9 million preschoolers spent their days in the hands of someone other than their mother. Millions of older children participate in programs providing after-school supervision. As American women continue to pour

The most anguished moment of the morning: Adam



Kieczowski, 4½, is about to be dropped off by his mother at a Rahway, N.J., day-care center funded by Merck & Co.

BILL FOLEY

into the work force, the trend will accelerate. "We are in the midst of an explosion," says Elinor Guggenheimer, president of the Manhattan-based Child Care Action Campaign. In ten years, she predicts, the number of children under six who will need daytime supervision will grow more than 50%. Says Jay Belsky, a professor of human development at Pennsylvania State University: "We are as much a society dependent on female labor, and thus in need of a child-care system, as we are a society dependent on the automobile, and thus in need of roads."

At the moment, though, the American child-care system—to the extent that there is one—is riddled with potholes. Throughout the country, working parents are faced with a triple quandary: day care is hard to find, difficult to afford and often of distressingly poor quality. Waiting lists at good facilities are so long that parents apply for a spot months before their chil-

dren are born. Or even earlier. The Empire State center in Farmingdale, N.Y., received an application from a woman attorney a week after she became engaged to marry. Apparently she hoped to time her pregnancy for an anticipated opening. The Jeanne Simon center in Burlington, Vt., has a folder of applications labeled "preconception."

Finding an acceptable day-care arrangement is just the beginning of the struggle. Parents must then maneuver to maintain it. Michele Theriot of Santa Monica, Calif., a 37-year-old theatrical producer, has been scrambling ever since her daughter Zoe was born 2½ years ago. In that short period she has employed a Danish au pair, who quit after eight months; a French girl, who stayed 2½ months; and an Iranian, who lasted a week. "If you get a good person, it's great," says Theriot, "but they have a tendency to move on." Last September,

Theriot decided to switch Zoe into a "family-care" arrangement, in which she spends seven hours a day in the home of another mother. Theriot toured a dozen such facilities before selecting one. "I can't even tell you what I found out there," she bristles. In one home the "kids were all lined up in front of the TV like a bunch of zombies." At another she was appalled by the filth. "I sat my girl down on the cleanest spot I could find and started interviewing the care giver. And you know what she did?" asks the incredulous mother. "She began throwing empty yogurt cups at my child's head. As though that was playful!"

Theriot is none too sure that the center she finally chose is much better. Zoe's diapers aren't always changed, instructions about giving medicine are sometimes ignored, and worse, "she's started having nightmares." En route to day care on a recent day, Zoe cried out, "No

school! No school!" and became distraught. It is time, Theriot concludes, to start the child-care search again.

Fretting about the effects of day care on children has become a national preoccupation. What troubles lie ahead for a generation reared by strangers? What kind of adults will they become? "It is scaring everybody that a whole generation of children is being raised in a way that has never happened before," says Edward Zigler, professor of psychology at Penn State's Belsky, suggests that extensive day care in the first year of life raises the risk of emotional problems, a conclusion that has mortified already guilty working parents. With high-quality supervision costing upwards of \$100 a week, many families are placing their children in the hands of untrained, overworked personnel. "In some places, that means one woman taking care of nine babies," says Zigler. "Nobody doing that can give them the stimulation they need. We encounter some real horror stories out there, with babies being tied into cribs."

The U.S. is the only Western industrialized nation that does not guarantee a working mother the right to a leave of absence after she has a child. Although the Supreme Court ruled last January that states may require businesses to provide maternity leaves with job security, only 40% of working women receive such protection through their companies. Even for these, the leaves are generally brief and unpaid. This forces many women to return to work sooner than they would like and creates a huge demand for infant care, the most expensive and difficult child-care service to supply. The premature separation takes a personal toll as well, observes Harvard Pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton,

their apparent to Benjamin Spock as the country's pre-eminent guru on child rearing. "Many parents return to the workplace grieving."

New York City Police Officer Janis Curtin resumed her assignment in south Queens just eight weeks after the birth of Peter. The screaming sirens and shrill threats of street thugs were just background noise to a relentless refrain in her head: "Who can I trust to care for my child?" She tried everything, from leaving Peter at the homes of other mothers to handing him over to her police-officer husband at the station-house door when they worked alternating shifts. With their schedules in constant flux, there were snags every step of the way. Curtin was more fortunate than most workers: police-department policy allows a year of unpaid "hardship" leave for child care. She decided to invoke that provision.

The absence of national policies to help working mothers reflects traditional American attitudes: old-fashioned motherhood has stood right up there with the flag and apple pie in the pantheon of American ideals. To some people day-care centers, particularly government-sponsored ones, threaten family values; they seem a step on the slippery slope toward an Orwellian socialist nightmare. But such abstract concerns have largely receded as the very concrete need for child care is confronted by people from all walks of life.

Child care is fast emerging as a politi-



A story-telling session at the state-subsidized Washington-Beech

cal issue. At least three Democratic presidential candidates have been emphasizing the need for better facilities and calling for federal action. Former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt has proposed that the U.S. Government establish a voucher system to help low-income parents pay for day care. Delaware Senator Joseph Biden favors federal child-care subsidies for the working poor and tax incentives to encourage businesses to provide day care. If elected, he vows, he will set up a center for White House employees as an example to other



"I'd love to find someone who focuses on my child and who reflects my own values"

MARENA MC PHERSON AT HER OFFICE



"Finding someone to help raise your child is the hardest thing you'll ever have to do"

ELAINE CLAA CAMPBELL, NANNY AND FAMILY



Community Daycare Center in Boston

employers. Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, who has established the country's most comprehensive state-subsidized day-care system, would like to see the Federal Government fund similar programs throughout the U.S.

Last week the issue surfaced on Capitol Hill. In the House, Republican Nancy Johnson of Connecticut and Democrat Cardiss Collins of Illinois introduced legislation to establish a national clearinghouse for information on child-care services. A Senate subcommittee began

hearings focused on the shortage of good-quality, affordable day care. Says Chairman Christopher Dodd of Connecticut: "It's about time we did something on this critical problem."

Without much federal help, the poorest mothers are caught in a vise. Working is the only way out of poverty, but it means putting children into day care, which is unaffordable. "The typical cost of full-time care is about \$3,000 a year for one child, or one-third of the poverty-level income for a family of three," says Helen Blank of the Children's Defense Fund in Washington. As a result, many poor mothers leave their young children alone for long periods or entrust them to siblings only slightly older. Others simply give up on working.

Rosalind Dove, 29, of Los Angeles, is giving it her best shot. A single mother of four, she worked for five years as a custodian in a public high school, bringing home \$1,000 in a good month. "I was paying \$400 a month for child care," she recalls. "We didn't buy anything." When that failed, she began bringing her children to work with her, hiding them in an empty home-economics classroom while she mopped floors and hauled huge barrels of trash for eight hours a day. "I'd sneak them in after the teacher left and check on them every 30 minutes or so." She finally quit last February and slipped onto the welfare rolls. She applied for state child-care assistance, only to learn there were 3,000 others on

the waiting list. Frustrated, she returned to work this month. "Don't ask me how I'm going to manage," she says.

Child care has always been an issue for the working poor. Traditionally, they have relied on neighbors or extended family and, in the worst of times, have left their children to wander in the streets or tied to the bedpost. In the mid-19th century the number of wastrels in the streets was so alarming that charity-minded society ladies established day nurseries in cities around the country. A few were sponsored by employers. Gradually, local regulatory boards began to discourage infant care, restrict nursery hours and place emphasis on a kindergarten or Montessori-style instructional approach. The nurseries became nursery schools, no longer suited to the needs of working mothers. During World War II, when women were mobilized to join wartime industry, day nurseries returned, with federal and local government sponsorship. Most of the centers vanished in the postwar years, and the Donna Reed era of the idealized nuclear family began.

Two historic forces brought an end to that era, sweeping women out of the home and into the workplace and creating a new demand for child care. First came the feminist movement of the '60s, which encouraged housewives to seek fulfillment in a career. Then economic recessions and inflation struck in the 1970s. Between 1973 and 1983, the median income for young families fell by more than 16%. Suddenly the middle-class dream of a house, a car and three square meals for the kids carried a dual-income price tag. "What was once a problem only of poor families has now become a part of daily life and a basic concern of typical American families," says Sheila B. Kamerman, a professor of social policy and planning at Columbia University and co-author of *Child Care: Facing the Hard Choices*.



"When my kids see me doing something with my life, they think they can do it too"

EMILIA DAVIS, WITH CHILDREN



"If you get a good person, it's great, but they have a tendency to move on"

MICHELE THERIOT AND ZOE

Some women are angry that the feminist movement failed to foresee the conflict that would arise between work and family life. "Safe, licensed child care should have been as prominent a feminist rallying cry as safe, legal abortions," observes Joan Walsh, a legislative consultant and essayist in Sacramento.

In the early 1970s, there was a flurry of congressional activity to provide child-care funds for the working poor and regulate standards. But under pressure from conservative groups, Richard Nixon vetoed a comprehensive child-development program in 1971, refusing, he said, to put the Government's "vast moral authority" on the side of "communal" approaches to child rearing. The Reagan Administration has further reduced the federal role in child care. In inflation-adjusted dollars, funding for direct day-care subsidies for low- and middle-income families has dropped by 28%.

California, Minnesota, Massachu-

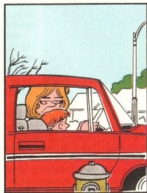
setts. According to a Census Bureau report called *Who's Minding the Kids*, 37% of preschool children of working mothers spend their days in such facilities. An additional 23% are in organized day-care centers or preschools. The third type of arrangement, which prevails for older children and for 31% of those under five, is supervision in the child's own home by a nanny, sitter, relative or friend.

Home-based groups are popular primarily because they are affordable, sometimes costing as little as \$40 a week. The quality depends on the dedication of the individual mothers, many of whom are busy not only with their paid charges but with their own children as well. Darlene Daniels, 31, a single mother of three in Chicago, has been through four such sitters in six months. Two proved too expensive and careless for Daniels, who was earning \$7 an hour as a janitor; another robbed her. "For most people, it's not their own kids, and they're just look-

settling on Clara Hawkes, 47, an artist from Santa Fe whose own daughter is a National Merit Scholar. "You don't want to gamble with your child," says Ray.

Au pairs, usually European girls between 18 and 25, are less expensive, receiving an average of \$100 a week plus room and board. Most stay only a year, and few have legal working papers. The immigration law that took effect this month will make the employers of such workers liable for fines up to \$10,000, though the Immigration and Naturalization Service does not plan an aggressive crackdown on domestic help.

Concerns about legality have led more families to hire American au pairs—frequently teenage girls from the Midwest and often Mormons. "We Mormons come from big families, so we have experience with kids," explains Karen Howell, 19, a Californian who is spending a year with a Washington, D.C., family. "We don't drink, and we know the mean-



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sets, New York and Connecticut are among the few states that have devoted considerable resources to improving child-care programs. Most states have done virtually nothing. Thirty-three have lowered their standards and reduced enforcement for licensed day-care centers. As of last year, 23 states were providing fewer children with day care than in 1981.

Nor have American businesses stepped in to fill the void. "They acknowledge that child care is an important need, but they don't see it as their problem," says Kamerman. Of the nation's 6 million employees, only about 3,000 provide some sort of child-care assistance. That is up from about 100 in 1978, but most merely provide advice or referrals. Only about 150 employers provide on-site or near-site day-care centers. "Today's corporate personnel policies remain stuck in a 1950s time warp," charges David Blankenhorn, director of the Manhattan-based Institute for American Values. "They are rooted in the quaint assumption that employees have 'someone at home' to attend to family matters."

There are basically three kinds of day care in the U.S. For children under five, the most common arrangement is "family" or "home-based" care, in which toddlers are minded in the homes of other

ing at the dollar sign," she complains.

Only eight states have training requirements for home-based centers. Regulations governing the ratio of attendants to tots vary widely. In Maryland there must be one adult for every two children under age two. But in Georgia each adult is allowed to care for up to ten children under age two and, in Idaho, twelve.

A private nanny or au pair usually assures a child more individual attention. Professional couples, who must work long hours or travel, often find that such live-in arrangements are the only practical solution, though the cost can exceed \$300 a week. However, most live-in sitters in the U.S., unlike the licensed nannies of Britain, have no formal training. Many speak English poorly, and agencies frequently do a cursory job of screening them. A Dallas mother who asked an attorney friend to run a check on her newly hired nanny was told the woman was wanted for writing bad checks. "People need a license to cut your hair but not to care for your child," observes Elaine Claar Campbell, a Chicago investment banker. She and her lawyer-husband Ray, armed with five pages of questions, spent three months interviewing more than 50 people, before

ing of hard work." Two agencies—the Experiment in International Living and the American Institute for Foreign Study—have Government permission to bring in 3,100 European au pairs a year on cultural-exchange visas. Although the programs are more expensive than traditional au pair arrangements, host families are assured that their helpers are legal.

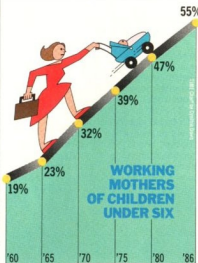
The professional day-care center is the fastest-growing option for working parents. There are an estimated 60,000 around the country, about half nonprofit and half operated as businesses. Costs vary widely, from \$40 a week to as much as \$120. In the best centers, children are cared for by dedicated professionals. At the nonprofit Empire State center in Farmingdale, N.Y., teachers make up lesson plans even for infants. Empire, which receives partial funding from New York State, keeps parents closely informed of their child's development. "If a child takes a first step, develops in the least, that parent is called," says Director Ana Fontana.

Not all day-care centers are so conscientious. Day-care staffers rank in the lowest 10% of U.S. wage earners, a fact that contributes to an average turnover rate of 36% a year. Says Caroline Zinsner of the Center for Public Advocacy Research in

Manhattan: "It says something about our society's values that we pay animal caretakers more than people who care for our children." Gilda Ongkeko is delighted with the quality of the Hill an' Dale Family Learning Center in Santa Monica, Calif., attended by Jason, 4. In her job as owner of a preschool-supply company, she has come to appreciate how unusual it is. "I've been to over 1,000 child-care centers," she says, "and I'd say that 90% of them should be shut down. It's pathetic."

Experts worry that a two-tier system is emerging, with quality care available to the affluent, and everyone else settling for less. "We are at about the same place with child care as we were when we started universal education," says Zigler of Yale. "Then some kids were getting Latin and Greek and being prepared for Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Other kids were lucky if they could learn to write their own name."

In 1827 Massachusetts led the way to universal education by becoming the first state to require towns with 500 or more families to build high schools. Now it is showing the way to universal child care. Aided by a booming economy, the state has worked out a program with employers, school boards, unions and nonprofit groups to encourage the expansion and improvement of child-care facilities. Small companies and groups can receive low-interest loans from the state to build day-care facilities. Funds are earmarked for creating centers in public housing projects. School systems can get financial aid for after-school programs. A statewide referral network serves both individual parents



and corporations looking for child care.

Emilia Davis, 38, of Boston's working-class Roslindale section, is the beneficiary of another of the state's far-reaching programs. After years of dependence on welfare to support herself and her five children, Davis, who is separated from her husband, is now going to college with the ultimate hope of finding a job. The state's E.T. (employment and training) program provides her with vouchers for day care in the public housing complex where she lives. "Child care is an absolute precondition if one is serious about trying to help people lift themselves out of poverty," insists Governor Dukakis. Though the state will spend an estimated \$27 mil-

lion on day care under the E.T. program this year—and a total of \$101 million on all child-care related services—it claims to have saved \$121 million in welfare costs last year alone. Next month the state will begin a pilot program that will pay 20% to 40% of child-care costs for 150 working-class families.

San Francisco has adopted another innovative approach. It requires developers of major new commercial office and hotel space to include an on-site child-care center or pay \$1 per sq. ft. of space to the city's child-care fund. The state of California is spending \$319 million this year on child-care subsidies for 100,000 children. It also funds a network of 72 resource and referral agencies.

Because such state programs are the exception, a number of political leaders and lobbying groups are calling for federal intervention. This summer a coalition of 64 groups—including the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers and the Child Welfare League of America—will propose a comprehensive national child-care bill, which will probably call for increased support to help low- and moderate-income families pay for child care. Legislation has already been introduced in both houses of Congress to create a national parental-leave policy.

In an era of towering federal deficits, much of the future initiative will have to come from the private sector. By the year 2000, women will make up half the work force. Says Labor Secretary Bill Brock: "We still act as though workers have no families. Labor and management haven't faced that adequately, or at all."

A Woman's Place

In a poll for TIME by the firm Yankelovich Clancy Shulman*, 80% agreed with the statement that "many women today are having a hard time balancing the demands of raising children, marriage and work." Here are some of the findings:



More women are working outside the home these days. Do you think this is good or bad for:

	Total		Women		Men	
	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Good	Bad
Marriages	45%	36%	46%	34%	44%	39%
Children	24%	57%	26%	53%	22%	61%
The workplace	66%	12%	69%	10%	62%	15%
Women in general	72%	14%	70%	14%	73%	13%

In your view, most married women who work do so primarily:

	Total	Women	Men
Because they want to	19%	16%	23%
For economic reasons	66%	68%	64%

If one of you had to give up your job for some reason, whose job would it be?

	Total	Women	Men
Husband's	10%	11%	9%
Wife's	84%	84%	83%

Should business provide day care?

	Total	Women	Men
Yes	51%	56%	46%
No	39%	34%	46%

Should government do more to provide day care?

	Total	Women	Men
Yes	54%	56%	51%
No	43%	39%	48%

*The findings are based on a telephone survey of 1,014 adult Americans. The potential sampling error is plus or minus 3%.

A few companies are in the forefront. Merck & Co., a large pharmaceutical concern based in Rahway, N.J., invested \$100,000 seven years ago to establish a day-care center in a church less than two miles from its headquarters. Parents pay \$550 a month for infants and \$385 for toddlers. Many spend lunch hours with their children. "I can be there in four minutes," says Steven Klimczak, a Merck corporate-finance executive whose three-year-old daughter attends the center. "It's very reliable, and that's important in terms of getting your job done."

Elsewhere in the country, companies have banded together to share the costs of providing day-care services to employees. A space in Rich's department store in downtown Atlanta serves the children of not only its own employees but also of workers at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, the First Na-

tional Bank of Atlanta, Georgia-Pacific and the Atlanta Journal and Constitution newspapers.

Businesses that have made the investment in child care say it pays off handsomely by reducing turnover and absenteeism. A large survey has shown that parents lose on average eight days a year from work because of child-care problems and nearly 40% consider quitting. Studies at Merck suggest that the company also saves on sick leave due to stress-related illness. "We have got an awful lot of comments from managers about lessened stress and less unexpected leave time," says Spokesman Art Strohmmer. At Stride Rite Corp., a 16-year-old, on-site day-care center in Boston and a newer one at the Cambridge headquarters have engendered unusual company loyalty and low turnover. "People want to work here, and child care seems to be a catalyst," says

Stride Rite Chairman Arnold Hiatt. "To me it is as natural as having a clean-air policy or a medical benefit."

The generation of workers graduating from college today may find themselves in a better position. They belong to the "baby-bust" generation, and their small numbers, says Harvard Economist David Bloom, will force employers to be creative in searching for labor. Child-care arrangements, he says, will be the "fringe benefits of the 1990s." The economics of the situation, if nothing else, will provoke a change in the attitude of business, just as the politics of the situation is changing the attitude of government. In order to attract the necessary women—and men—employers are going to have to help them find ways to cope more easily with their duties as parents.

—By Claudia Wallis
Reported by Jon D. Hull/Los Angeles, Melissa Ludtke/Boston and Elizabeth Taylor/Chicago

Children of the World

The U.S. lags behind almost every other industrial nation, and indeed much of the world, in offering an adequate child-care system. More than 100 other countries have national policies, and many European countries have extensive networks of centers that are subsidized and regulated by the government. Nevertheless, as women flood the marketplace, even countries with relatively comprehensive systems find there are simply too many youngsters who need watching. A sampling:

FRANCE. Working mothers are legally entitled to at least 16 weeks' maternity leave at 84% of their salaries. Some 79,000 children are cared for in 1,494 centers, called crèches, of which 167 are private. The state-run centers are open eleven hours a day and cost between \$3 and \$17.50 daily. Because the crèches are oversubscribed, the government offers subsidies of as much as \$340 a month to parents who hire help at home. In addition, there are *haltes garderies*, where children up to five can be left to play for a few hours at a time, and *nourrices*, mothers who care for other children as well as their own.

SCANDINAVIA. In Sweden, new parents are guaranteed a one-year leave of absence after childbirth; the first half is reserved for the mother, who receives 90% of her salary from social security. Denmark offers new parents a maximum leave of only 24 weeks, the first 14 for mothers, but has a larger network of day-care facilities. Nearly 44% of Danish children younger than three and 69% of those between ages three and five are enrolled in a public facility. With fees as low as \$115 a month, demand is high. There are so few spaces for infants that municipalities now pay women to watch two or three babies in their homes.

ISRAEL. New mothers are entitled to twelve weeks' paid and 40 weeks' unpaid leave. The country has 900 subsidized centers, which charge between \$27 and \$90 a month accord-

ing to family income. Of 240,000 Jewish youngsters four and under, nearly a quarter are in day care. (Few of Israel's Arab families take part.) Critics complain that the children-to-teacher ratio is much too high (as many as 25 to 1), and budget constraints forced the government to stop building new centers four years ago. Private social-service groups have continued their building efforts, but there is still a shortage. "If we could build another 200 day-care centers," says Yvette Saadan, director of the Labor Ministry Women's Bureau, "we could fill them."

JAPAN. Most Japanese still believe a woman is shirking her responsibility if she is not at home with her children. But

the number of married Japanese women who have returned to work has quadrupled in the past 20 years. Mothers are given 14 weeks of maternity leave but usually quit work to care for their babies. Child-care facilities vary between licensed and unlicensed, public and private. Most of the nearly 23,000 licensed centers do not accept newborns, and the better ones have long waiting lists. Despite the growing number of working women, the government is not pushing to expand day care. Observes one Tokyo university professor: "Discrimination



Changing diapers at one of the state-organized crèches in Paris

against women exists in various forms, with insufficiency of the child-care system being one example."

SOVIET UNION. Working women are given about four months' fully paid maternity leave and may take additional leave at approximately one-quarter pay until their child's first birthday. There is no paternity leave. Although the government offers comprehensive day care after an infant's third month, Soviet nursery centers are considered poorly run. Many parents depend on friends and relatives, most notably babushkas (grandmothers), to care for very young children, though preschoolers generally attend kindergartens from age three. The government claims it is working to improve and expand service, but complaints continue, especially in rural areas. Last year it was reported that 90,000 mothers in the Central Asian republic of Turkmenia were staying home instead of working because there were so few kindergartens.



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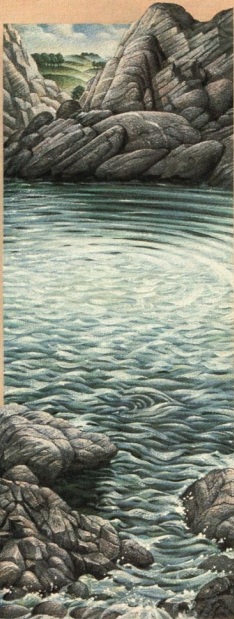
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HEAD OF THE BOURBON FAMILY

Is Day Care Bad for Babies?

Hard facts are beginning to clarify a politicized debate



Expert opinion on child rearing is no less subject to fashion than the length of hemlines. Witness the advice given to parents by Psychologist John B. Watson in his influential 1928 handbook *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*: "Never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say good night. Shake hands with them in the morning."

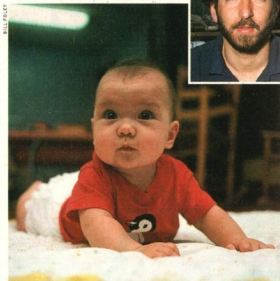
The views of child-development experts on day care have also fluctuated, often reflecting the prevailing political winds. They have swung from very negative in the 1950s to positive in the late '70s back toward negative in recent years. At the moment the field is deeply divided, with opposing camps interpreting the same evidence in different ways. At the heart of the debate is a question that could affect the psychological well-being of a generation of children and of their guilt-ridden working mothers: What are the long-term risks of day care?

The modern history of this debate began nearly 40 years ago with the work of English Psychiatrist John Bowlby, who reported on orphans raised in British institutions following World War II. These infants received minimal care: adequate food, a warm place to sleep, and clean diapers. However, the battery of nurses who looked after them rarely held or cuddled them. To Bowlby's horror, he found that the babies completely lost interest in life. They stopped eating, playing or even looking up from their cribs. The report, published in 1951, was interpreted as a stern warning that mothers should raise their own children.

In the late '60s, as more women went to work and more babies went into day care, experts began to re-examine the question. One problem quickly emerged: how to measure the emotional well-being of a child too young to be interviewed. The answer, devised in 1969 by University of Virginia Psychologist Mary Ainsworth, was the strange-situation test, usually conducted on children twelve to 18 months old. It consists of a series of episodes in which the child is alternately visited and left by its mother and by a stranger, culminating with the stranger's departure and the mother's return. The researcher watches the child's responses from behind a one-way mirror. Secure children, it was thought, are less upset by the stranger's arrival and are easily com-

forted when the mother returns. The assumption is that the best gauge of a baby's mental health is a strong maternal bond.

The first round of studies using this yardstick found no significant differences between toddlers reared in day-care centers and those attended by Mom. In 1978 Psychologist Jay Belsky of Pennsylvania State University co-authored a report concluding that day care can be perfectly fine for young children. Around the same time other studies suggested that good-quality day care may actually confer certain advantages to children from impoverished homes, such as promoting intellectual growth. Nonparental child care, it seemed, had the blessing of the professionals.



Infants may face emotional risks in day-care centers, says Belsky
"We've identified a window of vulnerability."

But not for long. Most early studies were conducted with children in high-quality day-care centers, usually at universities. Psychologists next began to look at more typical settings. The analysis of the strange-situation test changed, placing less emphasis on the child's reaction to the stranger than on its attitude toward the returning mother. Some initial results were unsettling. Day-care children were more likely to remain anxious even after the parent had come back. Some actively avoided their mother. Last September in a report published in the journal *Zero to Three*, Belsky reversed his earlier position. He concluded that babies who spend more than 20 hours a week in non-maternal care during the first year of life risk having an "insecure attachment" to

their mothers. He pointed to evidence that such children are more likely to become uncooperative and aggressive in early school years.

Belsky's report landed like a bombshell. In February four respected researchers issued a rebuttal, accusing him of misinterpreting data and rushing to conclusions. Belsky, they said, had failed to consider such factors as the family situation and the stability and quality of the child-care arrangement. Says one of the critics, UCLA Psychologist Carollee Howes: "We find that the quality of care makes much more difference than the age at which the child is enrolled."

Some experts now question the use of the strange situation as a measure of adjustment. Children in substitute care

are naturally going to respond differently to a series of separations and reunions, says Kathleen McCartney, a developmental psychologist at Harvard and another of Belsky's critics. "Kids in child care go through that every day." Tests measuring a child's energy level and attention span might be a better guide to emotional health.

The debate is about to be refueled. This fall Belsky will publish another article, contending that many current research findings do not support his critics' optimism about even high-quality, stable infant day care. A new study conducted by Psychiatrist Peter Bargon of Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital and colleagues supports this view. It concludes that even upper-middle-class one-year-olds, enjoying ostensibly the best substitute care—at home with a nanny or baby sitter—tend to be less securely attached to their mothers. "Is the mother by far the best caretaker for the child in the first year?" asks Bargon. "We think probably yes."

Most researchers do agree on a few things. During the first several months, babies appear to do best when tended to by one person, ideally a parent. For toddlers in day care, the ratio of children to adults is very important, and should be about 3 to 1. The size of the group may be even more critical. Two-year-olds do poorly in groups of more than ten.

The final answers will not be in until the current crop of day-care kids grows up. The next generation of research will ask more refined questions, delving into the reasons why many young children do well in substitute care while others suffer. Says Belsky: "We've identified a window of vulnerability. Now we have to figure out what conditions open it and which shut it."

—By Claudia Wallis.

Reported by Melissa Ludtke/Boston

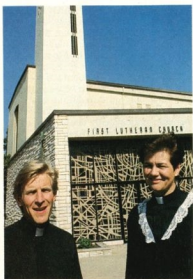
Law

No Taking Without Paying

From the Supreme Court, a sweeping decision on confiscation

The Fifth Amendment guarantees that private property shall not "be taken for public use, without just compensation." Exactly what those words mandate has been a subject of heated debate and much litigation for almost two centuries. In a controversial decision last week, the U.S. Supreme Court opened a major new chapter in the already bulging lawbooks dealing with confiscation. The ruling is virtually certain to render the field even more treacherously complex and to create pounding headaches for local planning authorities, environmentalists and historical preservationists across the nation.

The case that led to last week's ruling had its obscure origins in a 1978 flood that leveled the Lutherglan retreat and recreational center along the Mill Creek in California's Angeles Crest National Forest. To prevent possible future disasters, Los Angeles County banned all reconstruction in the area. The center's owner, the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Glendale, took exception to the safety measure. Claiming that the coun-



Pastors outside their Glendale church

ty's action violated the Fifth Amendment, the church sued for compensatory damages. Almost eight years after that suit was initiated, the high bench, by a 6-to-3 vote, ruled in favor of the church.

The Justices declared that when government regulations unreasonably prevent all uses of land, this amounts to confiscation. The owner is thus entitled to payment, even if the restrictions are later lifted. Writing for a majority made up of both liberal and conservative colleagues, Chief Justice William Rehnquist said, "We merely hold that where the government's activities have already worked a taking of all use of property, no subsequent action by the government can relieve it of the duty to provide compensation for the period during which the taking was effective." Rehnquist acknowledged that the decision would "lessen to some extent the freedom and flexibility of land-use planners," but he pointed out that it does not involve "normal delays in obtaining building permits, changes in zoning ordinances and the like."

Led by Justice John Paul Stevens, the dissenters branded the decision a "loose cannon." They charged that it would discourage the passage of important land regulations, "even perhaps in the health and safety area," and predicted that it

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LEAN ON MET LIFE.

would generate a swell of unproductive litigation. Indeed, the court returned the Glendale suit to California courts to determine whether the stringency of the county ordinance amounted to a confiscation or whether the ban was a reasonable safety regulation.

Glendale church officials proclaimed themselves "extremely happy." Elsewhere reaction was mixed, although few expected compensation lawsuits to bankrupt public treasuries. Confiscation is difficult to prove, and even where it is established, many judges remain reluctant to award significant damages. "As long as we leave the property owner with a reasonable use for the property," says Gary Netzer of the Los Angeles city attorney's office, "the courts still haven't ruled that it is a taking."

For most observers, however, the Supreme Court ruling did seem to alter dramatically the delicate balance that goes into the making of many land-use decisions. In particular, citizens trying to limit development in their localities may find themselves at a disadvantage. Says Lee Ruck, counsel to the National Association of Counties:

"An outcry of community concern is now less likely to sway a member of a board of supervisors or a city-planning committee faced with a high-priced lawyer in a three-piece suit who is threatening money damages." In the view of the real estate industry, the court's ruling tilts toward accountability. Explains Gus Bauman, litigation counsel for the National Association of Home Builders: "If a policeman walks up a dark alley with his gun drawn

and wrongly shoots somebody, the city can be taken to court for damages. Why not zoning commissioners?"

The impact of last week's pronouncement should soon be felt on numerous projects facing opposition. In Charlotte, N.C., for example, officials are pushing a proposal to restore neighborhoods to their 19th century appearance. In California authorities have enacted "open space plans," which prohibit development in certain areas. On Staten Island, N.Y., residents are intensifying their fight to be paid for conversion of their land into a 1,300-acre preserve of freshwater wetlands.

Some experts are dismayed by the prospect that local zoning boards may now act with excessive caution. "I think communities must be free to plan and take chances," says Curtis Berger, a Columbia University law professor. "They ought not to be forced to plan at their peril." Worries Jim Williams of the Washington State Association of Counties: "Right now we've got a small tiger by the tail, and we don't know how big it's going to get."

—By **Alain L. Sanders**,
Reported by **Anne Constable**/
Washington, with other bureaus

Tabloid Pays A Big Tab

At the nation's third largest paper, the news last week was the *News* itself. The New York City tabloid (daily circ. 1.4 million) settled out of court, reportedly for \$3.1 million, with four black journalists who had charged racial discrimination in promotions, raises and assignments between 1979 and 1982. It was the first such case against a

major newspaper to go before a jury, which ruled for the plaintiffs in April. The agreement came after three days of out-of-court bargaining that took place in the trial's second stage to set monetary damages for the four journalists. The *News*, which maintained it never discriminated, now agrees to pursue aggressively the hiring and promotion of blacks in the newsroom. Said one plaintiff, Reporter David Hardy: "The settlement bodes well. I am confident there will be changes at the paper."

DAILY @ NEWS

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Press

Full Disclosure, Semi-Outrage

A survey elicits complaints from presidential candidates

"This is not the type of information we routinely request preparing profiles," wrote Craig Whitney, the New York Times Washington editor, to 14 Democrats and Republicans running for President. Whitney was right. In the most exhaustive set of questions ever put to national candidates by a news organization, the Times has asked not only for such routine documents as birth

Gephardt said they would cooperate with the paper, the plan was dropped.

Where most candidates say the Times has gone too far is its wish to review medical records and FBI files. "We have no interest in waiving privacy rights to allow newspapers to go on a fishing expedition," said John Buckley, press secretary to Republican Congressman Jack Kemp. Dukakis also will not sign a waiver. Three



PUBLIC WATCHDOG

certificates but also for psychiatric records and access to FBI files. Though the candidates have had the Times request for more than a month, none have complied completely and nearly all are complaining about its scope. Says Patricia O'Brien, press secretary to Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis: "You ask questions. You don't say, 'Here is my plate. Fill it.'"

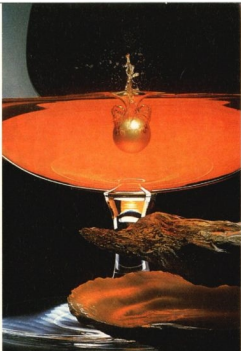
The Times survey was conceived before the Miami Herald broke the news about Gary Hart's dalliance with Donna Rice, but it has become part of the debate about how far the press should go in reporting the private lives of public officials. Republican Candidate Pat Robertson flatly turned Whitney down, pointing out that he was "not applying for employment at the New York Times." Democratic Front Runner Jesse Jackson charged last week that the Times had not distinguished between what is public and what is private. Earlier, a Jackson aide had attempted to rally fellow Democratic candidates to reject the Times's request. But when former Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, Illinois Senator Paul Simon and Missouri Representative Richard

others—Republican Alexander Haig and Democratic Senators Joseph Biden and Albert Gore Jr.—are undecided.

Some journalists also found the letter troubling. "I may not be able to define perfectly the 'invasion of privacy' in presidential politics," wrote Boston Globe Columnist Ellen Goodman, "but I know it when I see it. This is it." In the Times's defense, Whitney argues that reporting is "one big fishing expedition. That doesn't mean we print everything we find."

What may unsettle the candidates more than the Times's request are the truly personal questions since Hart's fall. The Cleveland Plain Dealer cited Ohio Governor Richard Celeste's denials of a "Hart-type personal problem" as justification for its story about his alleged affairs. In a LIFE interview, Jesse Jackson's wife warned that her husband's fidelity was nobody's business. Said she: "I don't believe in examining sheets." Nonetheless, candidates who prefer to devote their time offering visions of the future are likely to spend much of the present talking about themselves, their character and their credibility. —By Laurence Zuckerman.

Reported by Alessandra Stanley/Washington



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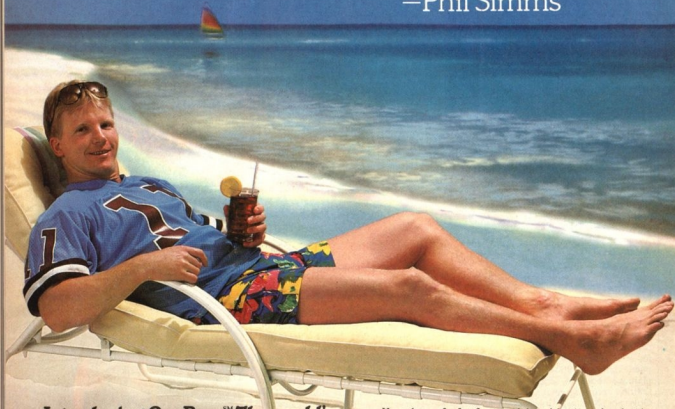


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Education

Now, a Few Words from the Wise

For the class of '87, advice on time, truth and Italian restaurants



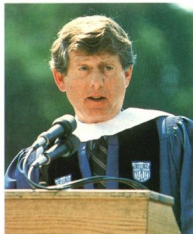
Rehnquist: all in the family, including a brand-new member

Commencements are largely family affairs; this year's graduation ceremonies produced signal variations on the homey theme. At Boston University, Chief Justice William Rehnquist presented a law degree to his son James, who had been presented with a daughter by his wife the day before. Democratic Senator Bob Graham confessed having had trouble coming up with a theme for his address at the University of Florida until Daughter Cissy, who would receive a master's degree that day, offered a suggestion: how to get a job. At Loyola College in Baltimore, a well-known husband-and-wife team, Bob and Dolores Hope, was awarded honorary doctoral degrees—his 53rd, in acknowledgment of which he dropped a chestnut: "Now that I am a doctor, at least I can get on the golf course on Wednesdays." At Vassar, playwright John Guare and his spouse Designer Adele Chatfield-Taylor both spoke, after flipping a coin to see who would go first. (She did.) In a boisterous, though notably erudite, bit of counterpoint to the family theme, graduates of Harvard's School of Public Health tossed into the air hundreds of condoms encased in envelopes that bore the Latin message *AD VENEREM SECURIUS*. Translation: "for safe sex." Here with a sampling of other, more formal messages to the Class of '87 from commencement speakers around the nation:

ABC Nightline Moderator Ted Koppel at Duke University, Durham, N.C.: We have actually convinced ourselves that slogans will save us. Shoot up if you must, but use a clean needle. Enjoy sex whenever and with whomever you wish, but wear a condom. No! The answer is no. Not because

it isn't cool or smart or because you might end up in jail or dying in an AIDS ward, but no because it's wrong, because we have spent 5,000 years as a race of rational human beings, trying to drag ourselves out of the primeval slime by searching for truth and moral absolutes. In its purest form, truth is not a polite tap on the shoulder. It is a howling reproach. What Moses brought down from Mount Sinai were not the Ten Suggestions.

The Rev. Lawrence Jenco, released last year after being held 19 months as hostage by Lebanese terrorists, at Marist College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Three months prior to my release, Said, one of my captors, sat on the edge of my mat and



Koppel: no suggestions from Moses

said, "Do you forgive me?" to which I responded, "Yes, Said, I do forgive you and ask your forgiveness too." For there were times when I was filled with anger and hate. And on the evening of my release, Haj [another captor], quoting from my letter home to my loved ones, said, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." I could not help but think these were the words of Jesus, who died in peace and returns to his disciples not with anger or retaliation against them, but with the simple greeting of "Peace be with you."

Humorist Calvin Trillin at Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.: I have divided up the United States into two sections. One section is the part of the U.S. that had major league baseball before the Second World War. That's the *ancient* U.S., and the rest of the U.S. is the rest of the U.S. That's the second part that's called the expansion-team U.S.—where we stand today. The way you can tell the difference is that the old U.S. still has regular European ethnic neighborhoods, and in an Italian restaurant in the *ancient* U.S., the waiters have names like Sal and Vinnie. But if you go to a restaurant that's an Italian restaurant and the waiter's name is Dwayne, you're in the expansion-team U.S.

Actress Joanne Woodward at the College of the Atlantic, Bar Harbor, Me.: Age has given me the arrogance and experience has given me the urgency to tell you what time looks like from this side of the river. My generation was the first to know we might not have any time at all, and yours was the first to be born knowing it. With each second you have after this one, you have to find a way to guarantee that time itself can live. We must choose to be custodians of this lovely planet that suckled us and led us peaceably forward with all the rest of nature for millions of years and could go on for its allotted billions more if we tell our time what to do. Otherwise, time and the earth could go out like a candle.

Conservative Columnist William F. Buckley Jr. at St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minn.: I think we need a democratic Anti-Defamation League, and I urge you to found such an institute. [It] would monitor and hand down grades to men and women responsible for political utterances—whether delivered over radio, television, orally before a live audience, or written in books or billboards. I would like to see your democratic Anti-Defamation League defend the honor of democracy by attacking those who abuse that venerable convention of self-government by public travesties of even semi-orderly thought. How fine if we succeeded in convincing American voters that an index to the political health of the nation depended not on the density of the vote but on the thoughtfulness of it.

Education

Feminist Barbara Ehrenreich at Reed College, Portland, Ore.: One question that I can answer is the question, Is there a man shortage? And the answer is no! There is not a man shortage. There is actually a man excess. Look at the House of Representatives. Look at the Senate. Look at the tenured faculty in any American college. And you will see an appalling man excess, which means a woman shortage. So for all the young women graduating today, I want to say you have your work cut out for you.

Former Senator J. William Fulbright at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.: There's no way of eradicating the knowledge of nuclear weapons from the

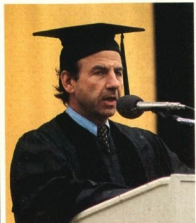
Science-Fiction Writer Ray Bradbury at Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, Calif.: Sometimes we need to fuse our lives again with those people who seem at times to be antagonists—you young men especially, because it is hard for us men to profess our love. It is quite often very difficult for your fathers and for you. So for you young men, when the ceremony is over, I want you to run over to the old man. Grab him, hug him and kiss him and say, "Dad, I love you and I thank you for all the years." That's part of the ceremony. I demand that of you when this is all over. It will save you a lot of trouble getting to know your father ten years from now.

Pulitzer-Prizewinning Historian Michael Kammen (*Children of Paradox*) at the University of Louisville: You must keep in mind that the meaning of personal liberty has altered repeatedly over time, in part because the concept is not explicitly mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. Insofar as it has variously meant liberty of conscience, opposition to chattel slavery, freedom from physical restraint, freedom of political association, freedom from surveillance where no threat to the state is involved, and a right to privacy that includes control over one's body, it has drawn upon both of the great traditions of liberty in the history of Western thought: negative freedom as well as positive freedom, freedom from as well as freedom to.

Lake Wobegone Chronicler Garrison Keillor at Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.: Being a parent is not something that people ever feel confident or secure about. When you were tiny children, we started to read about tremendous advances in prenatal education. And when you got a little bit older, we started reading great books about early childhood and fantastic things that parents can do. We've always been a step behind in bringing you up... We wanted to bring you up with information about sex that we never had. Our parents only told us that if we listened to rock 'n' roll, we would have babies—and they were right. You are them."

Author Joan Didion (*Play It as It Lays, Slouching Towards Bethlehem*) at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.: What I want to tell you today is not to move into that world where you're alone with your self and your mantra and your fitness program or whatever it is that you might use to try to control the world by closing it out. I want to tell you to just live in the mess. Throw yourself out into the convulsions of the world. I'm not telling you to make the world better, because I don't believe progress is necessarily part of the package. I'm just telling you to live in it, to look at it, to witness it. Try and get it. Take chances, make your own work, take pride in it. Seize the moment.

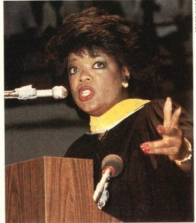
Retired Rear Admiral Grace Hopper, developer of COBOL, the most widely used computer business language, at Trinity College, Washington: There's always been change, there always will be change... It's to our young people that I look for the new ideas. No computer is ever going to ask a new, reasonable question. It takes trained people to do that. And if we're going to move toward those things we'd like to have, we must have the young people to ask the new, reasonable questions. A ship in port is safe; but that is not what ships are built for. And I want every one of you to be good ships and sail out and do the new things and move us toward the future.



Trillin: Wasp names in expansion towns

human race. Some way, therefore, must be found to change the attitudes of the people who wish to use them. The educational exchange program is not a panacea, but it's the right way to approach the problem. Instead of expecting to restrain forever the capacity to wage war, you've got to change the attitude of the people who control these warring machines and who make the decisions to use them. We have to understand the Russians, among others, and ourselves better than we have in the past.

Democratic Representative Michael Espy, the first black elected to Congress from Mississippi since Reconstruction, at Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.: In the area of civil and human rights, it is said that your class and your generation are tired, that you have no appreciation for what your parents and grandparents went through to get you here. I don't believe this is true. I've talked with you. I visited your classes. You know that racism and discrimination have not vanished into history, that they are as much in the present as in the past, and that your goal is to not let it pass into the future. You know that as long as our children are denied equal access to the American Dream, your work must go on.



Winfrey: please do not disturb

Harvard Professor Robert Coles, child psychiatrist and author (*Children of Crisis*), at St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Conn.: Now our children are witnesses to scandal in politics, scandal in business, scandal in religion, cheap sleaze all over our newspapers. What is wrong with a decent and honorable country that has to go through this kind of great depression? One can only hope and pray for all of us that we will yet again find our way and be worthy of what this country is all about: a decent respect for people, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And an end, perhaps, to the phoniness and corruption that we have been witness to in recent times.

Television Talk Show Host Oprah Winfrey at Tennessee State University, Nashville: It is always difficult to be meaningful and relevant, because there's just not enough time. Time to think seriously is hard to come by. I have been working all this past week in Los Angeles on a new television pilot for a prime-time series. I left the taping at 4 o'clock this morning your time, chartered a plane and flew all morning to get here by 10. So I just want to tell you, if I fall asleep, don't worry, don't panic and don't disturb me.

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Music

The Making Good of Randy Ray

A country boy called Travis sings a sweet Nashville tune

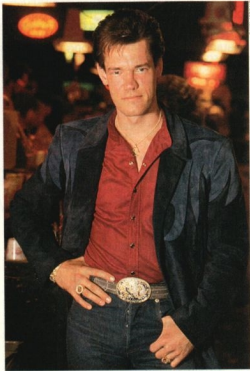
You will know the voice right away, even if you have never heard it. A backcountry baritone canters along a line of swaying melody, taking it easy, taking everything easy. The prides, the miseries, the dalliances and departures that are the mother lode of country music, all are delved into and delivered up with the sidling grace of an unordained preacher taking the back door into honky-tonk heaven.

In the fast lane of a Los Angeles freeway, a Randy Travis song on the car radio can put you, all at once, onto a stretch of two-lane blacktop. A tune like *On the Other Hand* or *What'll You Do About Me* can turn a city singles bar into a state-route sugar shack. If there is a new spirit in country, just about the friendliest place to get acquainted with it is on the tracks of Travis' fine new album, *Always & Forever*.

"Pure country went down for several years," Travis observes, and his recent success has done a lot to pick it up and dust it off. His previous album, *Storms of Life*, has sold 1.3 million copies so far (the new album, out a month and a half, has already sold more than half that). It has corralled him four awards from the Academy of Country Music, including best single and best album, and four more from last week's *Musical City News Awards*. "Boy," he recalls, still wondering a little at the memory, "when the Academy announced male vocalist of the year, you're talking about a shock. Winning in the same category with George Jones and George Strait!" Along with his armful of trophies, Randy got himself invited to join the Grand Ole Opry—at 28 he is the youngest member ever—and is currently burning up the interstates on tour.

Country music now holds about 10% of the recording market (down from 15% in 1981). Nashville music executives insist, however, that everything is turning around. Forecasts like that are as reliable as the 6 o'clock weather, but at the moment Nashville seems to have the talent to back up its boast. "I know that country music is going out to a lot of kids," Travis says. "You see a lot of teenagers and even little kids who know the words to the songs." There still may not be an overabundance of youth at a typical country concert, but the music in the Nashville air has a youthful flair that embraces and reconciles the roots rock of Steve Earle, the delicate harmonies of the Judds, the lively lyrical byplay of the O'Kanes.

In this crowd, Travis is the proud traditionalist. He has not redefined country so much as reminded everyone of its truest instincts. "I don't like to hear a country singer doing crossover," he admits. "Young people started turning their radios to hear Alabama and Kenny Rogers, and they began to hear George Strait and Ricky Skaggs." It is not necessary to press



A short stop on the endless highway: Travis takes five on tour
"Do what you love, and be what you are."

Travis' good country manners by asking his candid opinion of Rogers. The performers who command his respect can be heard in the echoes his music stirs: Strait and Skaggs and, especially, George Jones, and, reaching further back, Bob Wills' Western swing. At concerts Travis will even do tunes associated with Roy Rogers and those harmonizers of early sunrises and dusty trails, the Sons of the Pioneers. He shows pride in his roots and stays close to them too. He has, after all, been away only for a few years.

Second oldest in a family of six kids, Travis (born Traywick) grew up on a turkey farm in Marshville, N.C. He took up guitar at age eight, and with the encouragement of his parents, learned to play it just the way he does now: badly. "I can

hear things, but I can't play them," he admits. Onstage he will strum a few chords as he fronts his band. In the recording studio, "I don't play anything. The producer uses session players. I have input, but he tells them what to play." Travis has logged some of the hard knocks required for solid country writing, including dropping out of school in ninth grade and, on occasion, getting bailed out of jail. "I thought I knew it all, and wanted to do just what I wanted to do," he recalls. "Run away from home, maybe run with the wrong crowd, just trying to be a tough kid." His father wasn't always fast about getting him out of the lockup: "Once in a while he'd get mad and leave me for a day or so to teach me a lesson."

With all this background, however, Travis is still a reluctant writer. Of the 20 songs on his two albums, he is credited or co-credited only with five. "I'll never get to the point where I just record what I write," he says. "First off, I don't write that much. And there's not that many people that write that good. We don't care who writes a song as long as it's great." But ask him about the early days, when he was 14 and won a talent contest at the Country City U.S.A. club in Charlotte, N.C., and he will describe them by saying "That was 1977. I was singing whatever was hits. I wasn't doing anything of mine." Spoken like a man who knows, even now, all he has to do to make a tune his own is sing it.

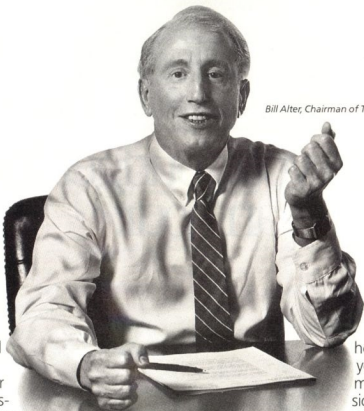
Country City Owner Lib Hatcher encouraged changing his stage name from Randy Ray, and when she moved on to the Nashville Palace, took him along with her. He sang, cooked and did odd jobs around the place, until someone from Warner Bros. Records caught his act in 1985 and signed him up. He uses different tools now, but the work, under the careful guidance of Manager Hatcher, is still tough. Randy remains unmarried, the better to handle the road. Bus it. (But no

drugging, drinking or smoking on board. "People are sure gonna be healthier working with us," Randy allows. And besides, smoke irritates his "real bad allergies.") Break. Bus. Set up. Play. Bus it again. Keep it professional; put the personal stuff on hold. It's that same old endless highway that circles the heart of country, a road that Randy Travis is already well along. "Do what you love, and be what you are," he says. "To me that's country music. With me, what you see is what I got." When Travis met Roy Cluff at the Grand Ole Opry, country's elder statesman told him, "We need you." Randy was flattered. The rest of us can make do with feeling lucky.

—By Jayocks

Reported by Joseph J. Kane/Calhoun, Ga.

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Books

The Veneer of the Gilded Age

EMPIRE by Gore Vidal; Random House; 486 pages; \$22.50

This novel is the fifth installment of a burgeoning saga that might be called "The U.S. According to Gore." Vidal's ambitious retelling and revamping of American history began on a modest scale with *Washington, D.C.* (1967), a novel set in the middle of this century that mixed real and fictional people in a struggle for the nation's soul. Then came *Burr* (1973), a witty revisionist look at the Founding Fathers, as recorded by Aaron Burr's amanuensis and illegitimate son Charles Schermerhorn Schuyler. In *1876* (1976), an older Schuyler returned home after years of self-imposed exile to witness both the theft of a presidential election and his daughter's cynical campaign to land a rich American husband. *Lincoln* (1984) was a lumbering but best-selling attempt to portray the legendary President through the eyes of three associates during the war-torn White House years.

Empire can be understood with no knowledge of the four novels that precede it, but a number of nuances will be missed in the process. Vidal's version of American society from 1898 to 1906 comes heavily cross-referenced not only to the historical past but to his other books. For example, the fictional heroine, Caroline Sanford, is Charles Schuyler's granddaughter and thus linked to *Burr* and *1876*; she has an affair with an equally fictional Congressman named James Burden Day, who will one day seek the presidency in *Washington, D.C.*

These echoes contribute a great deal to a novel that is stronger on atmosphere than

plot. In the beginning, the U.S. has just defeated Spain, gaining sway over the Caribbean and, by way of the Philippines, a foothold in the Pacific. A lot of talk ensues about whether an American empire is a good idea. The speakers include William McKinley, McKinley's Secretary of State John Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Adams, William Randolph Hearst and Henry James, who comes onstage briefly to wonder, "How can we, who cannot honestly govern ourselves, take up the task of governing others?" James' point is valid, but the outcome of the debate is never in doubt.

Stuck with the emptiness of a foregone conclusion, Vidal improvises diversions to fill in the space. One involves Caroline Sanford's battle with her half brother Blaise over their late father's \$15 million estate. Temporarily blocked from her share, Caroline sells four Poussin paintings, buys a money-losing Washington newspaper, and spices it up with sensationalisms à la Hearst, the man whom Blaise admires as "something new and strange and potent." Hay muses, "The contest was now between the high-minded few, led by Roosevelt, and Hearst, the true inventor of the modern world. What Hearst arbitrarily decided was news was news; and the powerful few were obliged to respond to his inventions."

The most striking of these, Vidal claims, is Teddy Roosevelt, who parleys the inflated Hearstian ballyhoo about his heroics on San Juan Hill into a political career that eventually, after McKinley's as-

sassination in 1901, lands him in the White House. *Empire* is, to put it mildly, not kind to Roosevelt. Nearly all the characters extol his predecessor. Hay tells McKinley, "You may be tired, sir, but you've accomplished a great deal more than any President since Mr. Lincoln, and even he didn't acquire an empire for us, which you have done." Roosevelt, by contrast, is the "fat little President," a bellicose figure of fun with a falsetto voice, a habit of clicking his "tombstone teeth" and laughing like a "frenzied watchdog." These denigrations largely fall flat. In *Burr*, Vidal turned a villain into a hero, suggesting that another truth could be found on the dark side of legend; here the issue of Roosevelt's buffoonery hardly matters, since he is portrayed as simply following in the revered McKinley's footsteps.

In lieu of suspense there is plenty of attention to the veneer of the gilded age: high society in New York, Newport and Washington, with occasional forays into England and France. Vidal handles the gatherings of the very bright and very rich with meticulous attention to the furnishings and small outbursts of naughty wit. Mrs. John Jacob Astor appears, commenting on the trials of idle affluence: "Now I play bridge. It is exactly like being alive." Vidal also throws in teasers to keep knowledgeable readers on their toes. Roosevelt's outspoken daughter Alice is quoted on her desire to leave Washington: "Scenes of former glory sort of thing. I don't want to be a fixture." That, of course, is exactly what Alice Roosevelt Longworth became for much of this century. When Oklahoma is admitted to statehood, Roosevelt rails that the new citizens have "in their infinite Western wisdom sent us a blind boy for one Senator." The Senator in question is Thomas

Excerpt

“Roosevelt produced his most dazzling smile. ‘I may be a hypocrite, Mr. Hearst, but I’m not a scoundrel.’

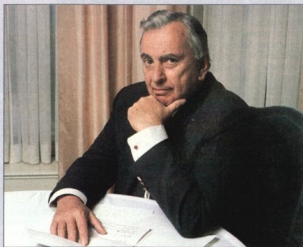
‘I know,’ said Hearst, with mock sadness. ‘After all, I made you up, didn’t I?’

‘Mr. Hearst,’ said the President, ‘history invented me, not you.’

‘Well, if you really want to be high-falutin’, then at this time and in this place, I am history—or at least the creator of the record.’

‘True history comes long after us. That’s when it will be decided whether or not we measured up...’

‘True history,’ said Hearst, with a smile that was, for once, almost charming, ‘is the final fiction. I thought even you knew that.’”



RENEA WITTE

Gore, Vidal's maternal grandfather. *Empire* offers many small pleasures in place of an absorbing whole. Vidal obviously sees his characters stumbling into the same folly of worldly dominion that has undone all previous empires. On the other hand, the end is not yet. And while life remains, it is probably smarter and more profitable to be charming than to despair.

—By Paul Gray

Strangeloves

EINSTEIN'S MONSTERS

by Martin Amis
Harmony; 149 pages; \$12.95

Martin Amis, 37, is the gifted author of five novels, including the extravagantly comic *Money: A Suicide Note*. He is a second-generation angry young man who, unlike his father Kingsley Amis (*Lucky Jim*), nurtures his distemper from sources that go beyond the real and imagined injuries of Britain's class system. *Einstein's Monsters* consists of a long lead essay followed by five fantasies, all charged with forebodings of nuclear disaster. In addition to high verbal energy and flashes of satiric genius, the stories hum with the resentment and loathing of a man who fears for his natural patrimony, the earth, the sky and time itself.

The possibilities of atomic conflict breed mutant thoughts. "Suppose I survive," Amis speculates, "then—God willing, if I still have the strength, and, of course, if they are still alive—I must find my wife and children and I must kill them." In the parables that follow this shocking statement, a former circus strongman discovers his family murdered by London toughs, a case of schizophrenia mirrors a fractured universe, a dragon-size dog ritually feeds on the residents of a small village, and in the year 2020, time becomes a fatal disease. A recurrent theme is that the world has lost its grip, "has been to so many parties, been in so many fights, lost its keys, had its handbag stolen, drunk too much."

Elsewhere, Amis turns metaphysics into antic prose. A pathetically humorous character known as the Immortal has been and will be around forever ("If time is money, then I am the last of the big spenders") and has seen it all ("I had to hold my horses for quite a while before there were any human beings to hang out with... I sat through geology, waiting for biology"). History provides a brief interlude to the Immortal's loneliness, and he pleads with 20th century mortals, "Be careful—you'll hurt yourselves. Please. Please try and stay a little longer."

As a messenger, Amis rejects British understatement. Each story proclaims its own logic and displays a conspicuous style. The effect is an imagining of the unimaginable—vastly preferable to the megaton moralizing of nuclear nonfiction that makes the unthinkable unreadable.

—By R.Z. Sheppard

Bookends

HAMMER
by Armand Hammer
with Neil Lyndon
Putnam; 544 pages; \$22.95



Nicholas Daniloff and a would-be Soviet émigré, Geneticist David Goldfarb. These incidents demonstrate his unusual role as a back-channel conduit between U.S. and Soviet officials. They also reflect the pragmatic approach Hammer takes toward the Soviets, his business partners on and off since the early 1920s. Readers will search in vain for indignation about the Soviet record on human rights. They will find instead a cuddly Lenin, a reasonable Gorbachev and a host of other blandly invoked leaders. Hammer calls himself an ardent capitalist; apparently this customer is always right.

Although Hammer has been accused of inflating his role in some events, on its own terms his is a fascinating story. There are peephole glimpses at the famous (he bargained with the Shah of Iran, visited with Jean Paul Getty and oversaw the sale of William Randolph Hearst's fabled art collection) and family tragedies, including a jail term for his Communist father, his own messy divorces, and manslaughter charges deflected by his son, who pleaded self-defense. In blunt and trenchantly funny prose, Hammer portrays himself as a bumbling breeder of prize cattle, an accidental oil millionaire—yet, always, a consummate wheeler-dealer, which nobody can deny.

GLORY DAYS
by Dave Marsh
Pantheon; 478 pages; \$18.95



How did Bruce Springsteen become America's rockin' role model? Critic Dave Marsh, a member of Springsteen's inner circle, suggests that he was driven to it by two haunting figures, Elvis Presley and Ronald Reagan. One a hero gone wrong, the other an antagonist, both taught the Boss a lesson about the hazards of being isolated and uninformed. After Reagan was elected, the Boss traded romantic fantasy for a gritty populism and gave birth to *Born in the U.S.A.*, his heavyweight album about everything from Viet Nam to dying hometowns. In this overlong account, Marsh purveys no dressing-room scandal—apparently the Boss's only vices are driving fast and staying up late—but discloses that when Manager Jon Landau

suggested during the making of *Born* that none of the 70 songs Springsteen had written were good enough for a smash single, the Boss snarled, "You want another one, you write it." Then he sat down on his bed, guitar in hand, and composed *Dancing in the Dark*. No book could possibly capture the emotional peaks of a Springsteen concert, but this one gives Bossmaniacs plenty more reasons to believe.

SPHERE
by Michael Crichton
Knopf; 385 pages; \$17.95



This is a beguiling remake of *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, complete with a thoroughly nasty giant squid, whose eye is "about 15 inches across, the size of a big dinner plate." Troubling questions—such as "Why is that dinner plate winking at us?"—arise when Psychologist Norman Johnson is flown to an air-crash site in the South Pacific. It turns out that the downed flying machine, resting 1,000 ft. under the sea, is a huge spaceship that crashed at least 300 years ago, judging from the coral growth that surrounds it. A satisfactory degree of *Hmm?* and a judicious measure of *Eek!* are involved when the hero and several dispensable colleagues submerge to investigate. Crichton (*The Andromeda Strain*) employs just enough sci-fi technobabble to justify his ingenious puzzle. The solution involves psychology, a discipline that in the author's depiction is something between a soft science and a firm seafood quiche.

SERENISSIMA
by Erica Jong
Houghton Mifflin; 225 pages; \$17.95

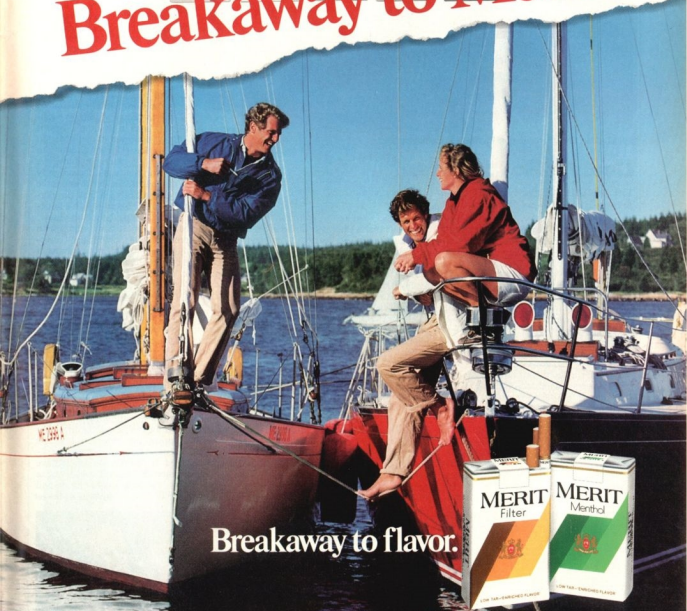


Shakespeare was not really gay. When required by his sadistic patron, the Earl of Southampton, to engage in homosexual acts, Will just shut his eyes and thought of... Well, actually he thought of Jessica Pruitt, a 20th century American screen star whom he met in Venice when she was on a time trip back to the 1590s. The Bard thought she was another Jessica, the daughter of a Jewish moneylender whose name begins with S. The beautiful Pruitt knew she was on an out-of-body voyage, fleeing 1980s-style problems familiar to anyone who reads commercial fiction: approaching middle age; botched marriages; lost custody of her child. Beside such threadbare clichés, Jong offers a doggedly authentic Venice setting, a fair amount of brushed-up Shakespeare and a few genuinely silly moments: Will speaking mostly in famous lines from his works, Jessica facing a new moral quandary—should she tell the world how Shakespeare was in bed? ■

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Cinema



Spelling bee: Cher, Sarandon and Pfeiffer get down to cursing

Could It Be . . . Satan?

THE WITCHES OF EASTWICK Directed by George Miller
Screenplay by Michael Cristofer

Andrew Wyeth might summer there. Bob Newhart could run the colonial inn. Eastwick—it looks like a travel poster for the New England dream. It surely boasts a trio of dream girls: Alexandra (Cher), who sculpts clay Earth Mothers; Jane (Susan Sarandon), who cues the school band with a hearty "Horns up!"; and Sukie (Michelle Pfeiffer), abtuse with her six kids. All are displaced, not quite fulfilled by their evenings together swapping naughty secrets. And when this comely sorority is restless, Eastwick suffers, with plagues of sudden storms and cherry pits. The women are witches, you see. And now they dare to pray for the perfect man to save them from rural rectitude: "a tall, dark prince traveling under a curse." Worse luck for the witches, they get him.

Daryl Van Horne (Jack Nicholson), a newcomer to Eastwick, is everything the women crave, fear, pity, hate. He is, in other words, a man. At church, he snores like a boar. His jokes smell, and he does too. He is, he admits with the grin of a baby Hitler,

"just your average horny little devil." With a capital D. Big Bad Beelzebub. But devilry in New England is not what it used to be. Women suspected of having sex with Satan are not burned at the stake; they are snubbed in the check-out line. And in an age when even witches are feminists, a sexist like Daryl doesn't stand a chance.

John Updike, on whose lovely, wicked novel this film is based, is alert to the minutest shifts in a suburbanite's emotional barometer. George Miller, director of the wondrously violent *Mad Max* movies, sneezes and blows a typhoon. At first it seems a mix of two unsuited masters. And anyone who comes to *The Witches of Eastwick* expecting a *Masterpiece Theatre* adaptation will be disappointed, not to say grossed out. Alex wakes up in a bed of snakes; puke spumes as if from a seakick sewer pipe. No problem. Miller and Michael Cristofer have simply chosen to tell the story from coarse Daryl's point of view rather than, as Updike did, from the ironic women's. This is not a movie of compound-complex sentences and nuances. But it is a damned entertaining one, with a textbook display of camerabatics—if textbooks were comic books with a mean streak.

The performances are in perfect high pitch. Cher and her screen sisters all catch the edge of flinty, frantic resilience; these three could bewitch any prospective devil. There are nifty turns from Veronica Cartwright (as the local prude) and Helen Lloyd Breed (as a sprightly olderster). Then there's Nicholson. Well! He might have been rehearsing for this role ever since *The Shining*. If he was over the top there, he is stratospheric here. He is a beast on two legs, grunting, slaving, pawing anyone, and never mind the scratches. Does Jack stink like Daryl? No, he is gloriously rank. Sulfuric, in fact.

—By Richard Corliss

Zitskrieg

THE BELIEVERS
Directed by John Schlesinger
Screenplay by Mark Frost

An innocent child possessed by the devil. A shark with a strange taste for shallow waters (and careless swimmers). An actor willing to sell his soul in exchange for a decent role. A good horror movie can be outlined in a sentence.

The Believers, a movie doing its best to defy description at any length, has some potential in this regard. It posits a Caribbean voodoo cult that offers unlimited worldly power to people willing to sacrifice their young sons in its rituals. And it brings a newly widowed father (Martin Sheen) and his son (Harley Cross) into menacing proximity with the evildoers. A well-made horror film would focus tightly on the son's menaced innocence and force us to share the father's fears as the portents of doom gather about him, his ferocity when at last he must defend his child.

But Mark Frost's script is abuzz with distractions, and John Schlesinger's direction is puttery and fussy. That boldness of style and pace that can distract the audience from the improbabilities always inherent in this genre is quite beyond him. It is rather late in the picture before the filmmakers briefly get their act together. For no very good reason, the meanies decide to visit upon the heroine, Helen Shaver, a humongous zit. Far beyond the curative powers of even the large-economy-size Clearasil, this ever growing pimple symbolizes the worst social nightmares of the adolescents who are the prime audience for occult nonsense, especially since—*eeeyul!*—popping it turns out to be worse than living with it. The sequence is simply and efficiently done, and the film's prevailing mood—a hopeless desire to pat everything into plausibility—is abandoned. If *The Believers* could have done for father love what it does for acne anxiety, its creators might have had something here.

—By Richard Schickel



Would you accept flowers from this man?



Sheen holds Cross in *The Believers*

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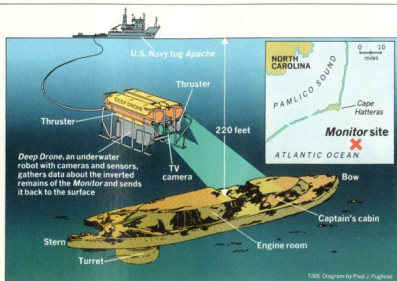


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Science



Probing the Monitor with a Deep Drone

A robot helps scientists explore a historic undersea wreck

It has been 14 years since marine archaeologists rediscovered the U.S.S. *Monitor*, the Civil War ironclad that sank in a storm near Cape Hatteras, N.C., ten months after the historic 1862 standoff with its Confederate counterpart, the C.S.S. *Virginia*.^{*} Since then more than 100 artifacts have been recovered from the wreck, including wine bottles and a 1,300-lb. anchor. Despite the *Monitor*'s designation in March as the country's first undersea National Historic Landmark, scientists and Government officials have been unable to decide whether the ship itself can be salvaged. Last week, after a 14-day expedition led by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, they had a preliminary answer. Said NOAA Project Coordinator Ed Miller: "It is doubtful we will ever bring up the entire ship because of the high cost and risk of breaking it apart."

The 172-ft. *Monitor* lies bottom up some 220 ft. below the surface, balanced on its cylindrical "cheesebox" turret. Since divers cannot work easily at that depth, scientists knew only that the ship's metal hull was corroded, but they did not know how badly. Indeed, the new data gathered on the *Monitor* represent a significant advance in undersea research. "This is a prototype for marine archaeology," says NOAA Spokesman Dane Kanop. "We are writing the book."

The showpiece of the operation was the Navy's Deep Drone, a sophisticated undersea robot. The drone was connected to the U.S. Navy tug *Apache* by an umbilical cord that transmitted com-

mands and returned data from an array of cameras and sensors to shipboard computers and monitors. An acoustical locating system, accurate to within 20 in., will guide scientists in assembling a photo-mosaic of the more than 2,000 high-resolution still photographs the drone has taken of the ship's hull. In addition, a sonar scan will be used to make a false-color three-dimensional computer map of the *Monitor*.

To learn how fast sections of the hull are corroding, the drone poked "stab sensors" through encrusted sea life and rust and measured the electromagnetic field at the ship's surface. Reason: the *Monitor*'s iron and steel combine with salt water to form a weak natural battery. The resulting electric current peels electrons from the hull, making it easier for oxygen atoms to attach themselves; oxidation, or rusting, ensues. To protect the *Monitor* while officials decide what to do, scientists may attach "sacrificial anodes" of zinc to the hull to divert the corrosion process away from the aging metal.

The final decision on the *Monitor* will have to await complete analysis of the drone's findings, but there may not be much time. Says Project Archaeologist Barto Arnold: "The wreck is in very bad shape; artifacts are spilling out and being washed away by the current." No more artifacts of the ship will be raised until tricky questions of recovery, restoration and eventual display are worked out. Says Miller: "We have learned with other shipwrecks that premature recovery leads to certain destruction."

—By Michael D. Lemonick.

Reported by Jay Peterzell/Washington and John Wilt/Cape Hatteras

Abstracts

FIBER-OPTIC FEEDING FRENZY

Just when you thought it was safe to go back in the water, marine biologists have charted some capricious changes in the feeding habits of sharks. In the past two years, sharks have repeatedly attacked the new 1-in. fiber-optic telephone cable off the Canary Islands. The marauding is expensive: an average cable repair is laborious and costs at least \$150,000.

What is it about fiber-optic cable? Marine biologists accompanying the repair teams have tried to find out. Along the way, they have learned that sharks generally do not feed below 3,000 ft., thus making it unnecessary to protect cable below that depth. They have also discovered previously unknown species of fish. But they still do not know why the new cable is so appealing. The favored theory: sharks attack the lines after detecting faint electric fields that trigger a feeding reflex. "Who knows why they are attracted to it?" muses Gary Nelson, chief of ichthyology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. "Sharks aren't all that predictable."

NEW SUPERHERO AT SIGMA XI

Sir Isaac Newton was a supergenius of science who, among other things, invented calculus and deduced the laws of gravity and optics. Sir Isaac, it turns out, also made mistakes. The University of Chicago announced last week that Robert Garisto, 23, a physics major, recently discovered in one of Newton's calculations an error that had gone undetected for three centuries.

Garisto stumbled across the blunder while puzzling over some confusing numbers from Newton's 1687 masterpiece of physics, the *Principia*. Newton had derived a figure for the earth's mass based on his new theory that a single force—gravity—governed falling bodies on earth and the motion of planets around the sun. The calculation depended on the angle between two lines from the earth to the sun, but because the angle was not precisely known at the time, Newton used slightly different figures as he revised the *Principia*. Although he had settled on 10.5 sec., or about three-thousandths of a degree, some of his calculations were based on an earlier estimate of 11 sec. It was that inconsistency that Garisto found—a discovery that was promptly confirmed by other physicists. The mistake has no bearing on Newton's theory, but its discovery was enough to earn Garisto, who graduated last week, a prize from the University of Chicago's chapter of Sigma Xi, the national scientific honor society.



Garisto

^{*}The wooden frigate *Merrimack* was fitted with iron plates and rechristened *Virginia*.



Costner as Eliot Ness: "He's very straightforward. He gives you everything he's got, but he wants you to play by the rules"

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ZADE ROSENTHAL

Show Business

Shooting Up the Box Office

Ripe violence and gangster flash make The Untouchables the new sleeper hit

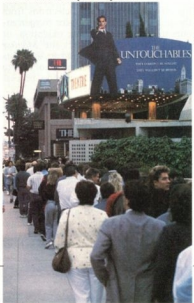
Here's a picture with no space wars, no music videos, no cute beasties, no bikinis. It is a period film in the wrong period. Kids want to go back to the '50s, not to Chicago during Prohibition. They weren't even born when this movie was a TV series. The producer, Art Linson, makes little pictures, and Brian De Palma directs naughty ones that rarely go gold. David Mamet writes Pulitzer-prizewinning plays, not boffo movies. O.K., so who's in the cast? Robert De Niro: his last hit was 1978's *The Deer Hunter*. Sean Connery: splendid actor, but the only time he's struck it rich lately was when he played 007 one more time. As for the leading man, Kevin Costner, his most memorable movie turn was as the corpse in *The Big Chill*. So there's no way this film is going to make back its \$25 million tab. It will be *Ishtar* without the camel.

Such were the odds *The Untouchables* stacked against itself before its June 3 opening. Now, after drawing enthusiastic reviews and a robust \$15.9 million in its first week, Paramount's gangster epic is starting to look like *Beverly Hills Cop II*. Too. The Eddie Murphy action comedy has earned a phenomenal \$89 million in its first three weeks. But *The Untouchables* may challenge Murphy with durability, what the industry calls "legs." A.D. Murphy, *Variety*'s guru of grosses, credits

The Untouchables with a "most auspicious beginning. It could run all summer." Privately, industry honchos now believe by year's end it may top *Cop II*.

Like the TV show that spawned it, *The Untouchables* dramatizes the holy war that Federal Agent Eliot Ness (Costner)

SRO crowds line up in Hollywood



proclaimed against Chicago's racketeers in the waning years of the Volstead Act. Al Capone (De Niro), with the police and politicians in his silk pocket, runs the city, abetted by gun-crazy Frank Nitti (Billy Drago). Ness's "untouchable" aides are an Italian-American sharpshooter (Andy Garcia), a bespectacled accountant (Charles Martin Smith) and an aging cop, Jimmy Malone (Connery). Malone is a father figure, an Obi-Wan Kenobi to Ness's Luke Skywalker, alerting him to the ways of the wicked world. Perhaps Ness becomes too alert. He defeats Capone, but, he notes, "I became what I beheld."

Two years ago David Mamet beheld Art Linson (*Fast Times at Ridgemont High*) across a Manhattan dinner table. "David," Linson recalls saying, "now that you have just won the Pulitzer for *Glen-garry Glen Ross*, don't you think the right career move would be to do a remake of a TV series?" Mamet was faced with correcting a familiar flaw of biographical drama: "That something is true does not make it interesting. There wasn't any real story. Ness and Capone never met. Capone went to jail for income tax evasion, which is not a very dramatic climax. So I made up a story about two of the good guys: Ness and Jimmy Malone, the idealist and the pragmatist."

Dawn Steel, president of production at Paramount, recalls that Mamet's first draft was an "outline, very sparse." How sparse? Capone was hardly in it. To flesh out Mamet's bare-bones script, Steel and her boss Ned Tanen wanted De Palma. "In the past," she says, "Brian hasn't chosen the material that was worthy of him and that he was worthy of. He was making homages to Alfred Hitchcock. This one is a homage to Brian De Palma—he felt it instead of directing it. With this picture he became a mensch." It surely marked a change from the snazzy, derivative thrillers (*Carrie*, *Body Double*) and dope operas (*Scarface*) that made him notorious. The new picture would be neither parody nor eulogy; it would be the story of a straight arrow, told with a straight face.

There are the familiar De Palma touches: lots of photogenic blood, a gorgeous tracking shot that leads our heroes from euphoria to horror, an endlessly elaborate set piece reminiscent of the Odessa Steps sequence in *Potemkin*. But the director's chief contribution is to the film's handsome physical design. "I wanted corruption to look very sleek," he says. "Some people in positions of power with ill-gotten money insulate themselves with over-the-top magnificence. They buy paintings and expensive clothes. And deep inside they know they're cheats and killers."

Visual Consultant Patrizia Von Brandenstein (*Amadeus*) accompanied De Palma to Chicago to devise the film's production design. "I thought about these four unlikely little guys going up against the mythic monolith of Capone," she says. "So I used architecture that showed mass and power: the Chicago Theater for the opera house, Louis Sullivan's Auditorium Building for Capone's hotel, a spiffed-up Union Station for the Odessa Steps sequence. Fortunately, Paramount let me really run wild." Steel also suggested the essential extravagance of signing Giorgio Armani, the Milanese couturier, to dress



Connery and Costner take aim: "Like a John Ford western"

most of the characters. Working from photos of '30s gangster films, Armani re-worked period shapes into a style that was less stiff, more drapable. Instead of dressing Ness blandly, Armani put him in darkly glamorous three-piece suits; rather than make Nitti gritty, he clothed him like a sepulchral angel, in gleaming white synthetics.

Now all the filmmakers needed was actors to fill the clothes. Harrison Ford and Mel Gibson were considered for Ness; both were unavailable. On the recommendation of Steven Spielberg and Lawrence Kasdan, and with Linson's avid support, De Palma selected Costner. Says De Palma: "Like Connery, he's very straightforward. He gives you everything he's got, but he wants you to play by the rules." It worked out fine; in a week the actor has gone from Who's he? to heart-throb. That is a status Conroy has easily worn for a quarter-century, and he was happy to fall into Malone's sack-of-potatoes haberdashery and the film's complex ethnic weave. "There's the Med-

iterranean style of Capone," Connery notes, "very much in favor of the pleasures of life. Then the Wasp syndrome of Ness, very puritan. And finally the European-Irish cop—me—in the middle, finding his way through that minefield."

Castings Capone was potentially explosive as well. De Niro, the first choice, deferred accepting the role for so long that English Actor Bob Hoskins (*Mona Lisa*) was hired. Then De Niro said yes, and the studio fired Hoskins and ate his \$200,000 salary. De Niro's scenes were to be filmed at the end of the twelve-week shoot. "I met him when we were in the final stages of rehearsals," Linson says. "He was thin. He looked about 15, 20 years too young to play Capone. He had a ponytail. I panicked. We'd fired Bob Hoskins for a quiet guy in a ponytail looking 30. Then De Niro went off to Italy for ten weeks, and when he came back he was unrecognizable. His entire head was redesigned. His hairline was moved back. He had gained 25, 30 lbs. He had his own tailor and costume designer. He wore special silk underwear from A. Sulka & Co., who made Al Capone's underwear. All these things helped him get into the character."

And, presumably, helped get audiences into the picture. But only word of mouth can get them to keep coming. They probably will, for *The Untouchables* has all the right lures: ripe violence, period flash and the triumph of good over venal. As De Palma puts it, "It's like a John Ford western. A good guy is on a mission and gets help. At the end he walks off into the sunset. It's a simple story told in a classical way." That might seem a bit too simple for De Palma, Mamet, De Niro and the other smart lads who have made careers breaking popular icons instead of reteeling them. But like Ness's, and Capone's, theirs is a story of hard-earned success. And what's so bad about making good?

—By Richard Corliss, Reported by Elaine Dutka and Denise Worrell/Los Angeles

The lineup. Left: *Untouchables* Smith, Costner, Connery and Garcia; right: Director De Palma, De Niro in Capone garb, and Producer Linson



The Complexities of Complexions

Struggles in living color on all the playgrounds

In 1980, not 1890, a curious circumstance struck Tony Perez as the great Cuban hitter chatted behind Boston's batting cage. "On the entire 25-man roster," he said, "the Red Sox have one black and one Latin, and I'm the one." Someone mentioned Jim Rice. "Disabled list," said Perez. "Mike Torrez?" That made him sigh. With a gaze of pitying forbearance that is becoming a familiar look in all kinds of sports arenas, Perez explained, "A Mexican from Topeka, Kans., is not a Latin."

In this area no lesson is too basic, as recent events proclaim loudly. Commemorating the 40 years since Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line, Los Angeles Dodgers Executive Al Campanis has remarked on how buoyant and fit for command blacks aren't, and he has been fired. Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth and Presidential Candidate Jesse Jackson have joined forces in the cause of affirmative action, and black Sociologist Harry Edwards has hired on as a consultant. Baseball is publicly standing up to racism.

And, one year after George Foster was derided and expelled for bringing up the subject, the World Champion New York Mets have three blacks on the entire roster, four counting Shortstop Rafael Santana, a Latin who is not from Topeka.

It is too simple to call Detroit Basketball Star Isiah Thomas the flip side of Campanis, though he squirmed similarly after endorsing a rookie teammate's view that the Boston Celtics' Larry Bird is a three-time MVP essentially because he is white. Later, Thomas claimed he was only joking when he said, "If Bird was black, he'd be just another good guy." But if by "just another good guy" he meant Magic Johnson, Michael Jordan and himself, the statement is not so unreasonable, and his amplification about stereotyping ought not to have been lost in the apology. "When Bird makes a great play, it's due to his thinking," Thomas sighed. "All we do is run and jump. We never practice or give a thought to how we play. It's like I came dribbling out of my mother's womb."

The first black player in the N.B.A., now 75% black, was the Celtics' Chuck Cooper in 1950.

Whenever there was no room at the inn, Bob Cousy used to walk the streets with Cooper, and as a result Cousy may be more sensitive than the average white basketball type to the racial undertones black players read into everything. "If

I was black," Cousy says, "I would be H. Rap Brown. No, I would be dead." Neglected in all the euphoric stories of Bird's series-saving steal in the semifinals against Detroit was the minor detail that an indiscreet drive by Bird had given the Pistons the ball in the first place. Then last week in the finals, when he almost pulled out a critical Laker game with his dramatic three-pointer, the sequence that immediately preceded it—including an especially ill-chosen shot and an almost unbelievably sloppy pass—was forgotten.

But Bird is an unprofitable example of a white basketball player, whiter than Elmer's Glue. As he said in the course of reaching out generously to Thomas, "He knows I'm a *baaad* player." Certainly everyone does. However, this year Magic



Doubting Thomas

Baad/Bird and MVP Johnson have always been entwined



Johnson took the trophy emphatically while the Lakers struggled for the prize. The critical shot in Game 4, when Boston could have evened the play-off at home, was a short hook that Johnson added only this season, "lifting his game" in his eighth year. That's the customary phrase, though it makes him wonder. "I was asked to score more this year, but it's wrong to say I've given more. I've always played the role I've been asked to play. The more responsibility I'm given, the more I show."

He is talking about opportunity. In 1966, determined to break up the black alliance of Frank Robinson and Vada Pinson, the Cincinnati Reds traded Robinson to Baltimore. (It is axiomatic in this situation that teams always move the wrong man; in the next era, Houston would separate Joe Morgan and Jimmy Wynn by sending Morgan to Cincinnati.) Baltimore's General Manager Harry Dalton had an idea that, since the city was predominantly black, perhaps a black superstar would stimulate black attendance. Robinson had a perfect year in 1966, winning the American League Triple Crown and prodding the Orioles to a World Series sweep of the Koufax-Drysdale Dodgers. He punctuated the final game, 1-0, with a home run. But Baltimore's blacks stayed away, seeming to care about baseball but unwilling to support it.

Two decades later, his time as an attraction expired, Frank Robinson has finished leading three black managers into futile circumstances and has taken his place of oblivion as an Oriole coach. Joe Morgan has declined a managing job in—of all cities—Houston. Looking at every major-league front office and seeing only Atlanta's Henry Aaron, Morgan figured out the chances of advancement and took his talents and flair to another industry.

Baseball merely discourages the black flair. Football actually legislates against it, restraining end-zone celebrators and individualists of every stripe. At a stadium distance, the shades of baseball and football players might be neutralized slightly. But a basketball player running around in his underwear cannot be pushed back inside a helmet. The game is too intimate, too sweaty, too bearded to be uniform and regulated. By the way, Johnson shot the hook because, at 6 ft. 9 in., he feared his jump shot might be blocked. "I don't take a jump-shot jumper; I take a tiptoe jumper," he said, a good description of Bird's as well. Imagine. Both black men and white men can think and not jump at the same time.

—By Tom Callahan

People

"I retire every night," says Trumpeter **Dizzy Gillespie**, who turns 70 in October. "Then I wake up the next day and go to work." Diz has no intention of curtailing his brilliant 50-year career. "Jazz is a hundredfold more popular now than it was when I was younger," he says, "and I know more than I did earlier." Last week the bebopping hornman kicked off a two-week engagement at Michael's Pub in Manhattan for an appreciative SRO crowd. Later this year PBS will air a tribute to him staged at the Wolf Trap music festival and featuring Vocalist **Carmen McRae** and Trumpeter **Wynton**



Gillespie: nonstop bebop

Marsalis. The jazz legend still waits on his trademark bent-up horn, because, he says, "you hear the sound quicker. I never blow straight at anybody unless it's an angel up in the heavens."

Jim and Tammy Bakker's surprise return to Heritage USA last week had all the markings of a media resurrection. Ending their Palm Springs, Calif., exile, televangelism's best-known couple flew to their house in the exclusive Tega Cay, S.C., 30 minutes from PTL headquarters, and held a nighttime press conference. Asked about their chances of ever returning to the financial-

ly troubled ministry, Bakker told reporters, "It will take a miracle. But we believe in miracles." Then Tammy fulfilled a promise she made two weeks ago and kissed the ground. Next day the Bakkers made a brief appearance at Heritage USA, emerging from a Mercedes limousine to mingle with a crowd of several hundred supporters. "We're going back on TV," said Bakker. "We have about five considerations right now." PTL is obviously not one of them. "We kind of wanted to say goodbye to it all," said Bakker, who nevertheless let it be known that he would take back his old job should Fundamentalist Preacher **Jerry Falwell**, who succeeded Bakker as head of PTL, have a change of heart. On Friday Falwell's PTL ministry filed for reorganization under Chapter 11, citing \$71 million worth of debts owed to 1,400 creditors. "The ministry is not in the buildings," said Bakker. "If the buildings are gone, I can preach in the streets if I have to." He just may. Falwell gave the Bakkers three days to move out.

The buttons that cropped up at last week's commencement ceremony seemed to sum it up best. YES, I WENT TO PRINCETON, they read. NO, I HAVEN'T MET HER. But **Brooke Shields**, 22, does not see anything funny about her college stint. "I did it in four years, and I worked hard," said the model-actress proudly. Growing a bit teary-eyed, she added, "I didn't set out to prove anything to anyone except myself." Looking smart in her black mortarboard and gown, Shields received a B.A. in French literature with honors. But just as she once vowed not to let anything "come between me and my Calvins," Shields never let French lit come between her and her career. Her busy schedule included magazine cover shoots, roles in



Fast Lane 101: Graduate Shields at Princeton

three movies and birthday parties at trendy nightclubs like Chippendale's and the Palladium. Sounds as if she could take honors in social studies too.

Sore losers are familiar, but what about sore winners? Taking the lion's share of

the prizes at the 41st Annual Tony Awards in New York City last week did not stop some of the British winners from baring their claws during acceptance speeches. Director **Trevor Nunn**, who got best director of a musical for *Les Misérables* (eight Tonys), took the mike and scolded New York drama critics. Growled **John Napier**, who picked up Tonys for costumes (*Starlight Express*) and scenic design (*Les Misérables*): "It seems a little peculiar to me that *Starlight* wasn't even nominated [for scenic design]." Then Napier raised his Tony and sniped, "I'd give this to have been in the room" where the nominations were decided. There was no grouching from **Robert Lindsay** and **Maryann Plunkett**, who danced away with best leading actor and actress in a musical for their roles in *Me and My Girl*. The Yanks managed to stave off the English invasion on the dramatic front. **Linda Lavin** won best actress for *Broadway Bound*; **James Earl Jones** clinched best actor for his role in *Fences*, which also won best play. The Americans, it seems, decided to save the really heavy stuff for the theater.

—By Guy D. Garcia. Reported by David E. Thigpen/New York, with other bureaus



Broadway bows: Tony Winners Lindsay, Plunkett, Lavin and Jones

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Essay

If Necessary, a Superpower Acts Alone

Since Viet Nam, Congress has muscled its way into the formulation of American foreign policy, first with the War Powers Resolution and then with a baroque assortment of Boland amendments. Now Congress is determined to pronounce on the Persian Gulf. But Congress does not know what to say. In the past two weeks it has been toing and froing, its actions best summarized by Congressman George Gekas, who said on the floor of the House, "We are confused. If you are not confused, I am, and I am willing to admit it. That may be the difference between me and most of you."

Congress will not, however, allow confusion to deter. Instead, it is trying to legislate its confusion with a series of stalling actions. First the Senate, then the House voted to block Administration plans to put Kuwaiti tankers under U.S. Navy protection unless they got a report from the President on the risks and dangers. A report is due soon, which means Congress might actually have to make a decision on a plan that the Administration first presented to the Senate Armed Services Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee in March. At which time, pre-*Stark*, congressional leaders showed little interest in the issue. Post-*Stark*, they discovered that the Persian Gulf is a dangerous place and went into a frenzy of directionless activity. Except for Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He knows where he is headed. He introduced a bill (S1327) that prohibits the Administration from reflagging Kuwaiti vessels but urges a "United Nations peacekeeping force to protect nonbelligerent shipping in the Persian Gulf and to seek an early end to the Iran-Iraq war." (It would, of course, be a late end, the Secretary-General having tried for years for an early one.)

The reactions to the President's reflagging plan are many, and they generally fall along party lines. For example, among presidential candidates, Democrats (with the notable exception of Senator Albert Gore) are trying to restrain him. Republicans (with the notable exception of Robert Dole and Alexander Haig) are supporting him.

Democrats begin every call for retreat with the ringing assertion that the Persian Gulf is indeed a vital American interest and the United States will not be run out of the region. But they then set conditions for U.S. action in the gulf that are impossible to meet. The favored technique for doing this is to demand that the United States not act alone. Where are the allies? they complain. After all, it is their oil and not ours that is flowing through the gulf. They should join us in any military action. If they don't act, why should we?

This objection fails on four counts. First of all, it is "their oil" in only a technical sense. It is true that the Europeans and Japanese import more gulf oil than the U.S. does. But oil is fungible, and the U.S. imports almost half its oil. Were the gulf shut down, our allies would have to get it elsewhere, thus bidding up the price. If this resulted in a panic, as happened in the oil shock of 1979, all oil importers, including the U.S., would be badly damaged.

Second, this scenario—"their oil" in the gulf, "ours" safely elsewhere—is not just false, it is beside the point. The reason for reflagging Kuwaiti tankers has little to do with securing Western oil supplies. There is no new threat to world oil supplies. Iran has long threatened to close the Strait of Hormuz and long resisted, for the simple reason that nearly all its own oil flows through the strait. And the tanker war in the Persian Gulf has been raging for almost four years, during which time the world has seen the greatest oil glut and sharpest price collapse in history. The Administration wants to protect Kuwaiti oil not because the West needs to buy Kuwaiti oil, but because Kuwait needs to sell it.

Third, the British and the French, who have powerful navies, are in fact on patrol around the gulf. As for the West Germans and the Japanese, they have no global navies to send. (We arranged for that after World War II.) Shall America wait then for the Canadians and Italians before venturing back into the gulf? As Secretary Shultz points out, the British have two frigates and a destroyer in the area, which is more, proportionately, than the U.S. has. The French also have warships in the region protecting their own vessels. Shouldn't they be acting with the United States to protect American-flagged ships? The answer is that they did join the U.S. in a similar action in Lebanon four years ago and woke one morning to find that the U.S. had "redeployed" its Marine force to the Mediterranean and left the French high and dry. They have learned that American ambivalence about the use of force abroad is such that it is unwise, indeed reckless, for any ally to risk a joint venture with the U.S.

Fourth, even if all of the foregoing were not true, the idea that a superpower does not act except in conjunction with allies has become the disease of American foreign policy. Central America is without a doubt a vital American interest, but, we hear, America must not act unless Contadora or the OAS or Costa Rica—a country with no army—leads the way. Since it is impossible to imagine that weak countries will go where a superpower fears to tread, this requirement of allied support is a guarantee of American inaction. This is isolationism disguised as multilateralism. It betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of what superpower status means. It means acting to protect allies even when they are too weak or too cowed to do so on their own. In most foreign policy crises, such is the case. The only country in a position to act is the U.S. To fob off the responsibility on allies, who we know in advance are in no position to act, is to declare, in the most pious multilateral tones, an American retreat.

The highest form of multilateral nonsense, however, is to pretend to fob off the responsibility on the U.N., as Senator Pell proposes. And Pell is not alone. Presidential Candidate Michael Dukakis spoke for much of the Democratic Party when he expressed opposition to American use of "armed forces in the gulf unless it does so in concert with other nations, preferably under the aegis of the U.N. Security Council."

When Cordell Hull, F.D.R.'s Secretary of State, talked of the



Essay

U.N. as a panacea for world problems, of bringing an end to the era of power politics, he could be forgiven because the U.N. did not yet exist.

Forty years later, one cannot be forgiven. What exactly do Pell, Dukakis and the Democrats have in mind? Perhaps they think of the U.N. as some independent world actor. Jeane Kirkpatrick, who spent some time there, had a crisper view. She called it a "Turkish bath" where the Third World can let off steam, denounce the West, air resentments and demand transfers of wealth. Its principal achievement is to generate a billion pages of paper every year. This U.N. is not even able to field peace-keeping forces in precisely the areas, like the Sinai, where they are most needed. When Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty that effectively ended the possibility of a major war in the Middle East, the U.N. called its peacekeepers home, since this was not a peace that it approved. The U.S. had to field a makeshift substitute force. This U.N. is hardly capable of any action. It is certainly not going to do the West's dirty work in the Persian Gulf.

What about the Security Council? If Pell really wants the Security Council to protect the gulf, what he means is for the U.S., Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union to act together. But this is absurd. China, for example, is supplying Iran with the very missiles it would use to target any peacekeeping flotilla. And even if united action were possible, it would not be desirable. What the "U.N. route" really means, after all the disguises are removed, is that the U.S. should act in the gulf only with the permission not just of allies but also of the Soviet Union. This amounts to ending Western control of the gulf, which the British maintained for a century and which the United States has been keeping for the past 15 years, and turning it over to a joint partnership with the Soviet Union. Because of what? Because in an accidental attack one Iraqi plane hit one American ship that was asleep in a war zone.

To invite the Soviets to share the responsibility, and thus the



rewards, of controlling the Persian Gulf would amount to the most astonishing voluntary abdication of a Western position in the postwar world. At least when the British ran out on their responsibilities in the gulf in 1971, they turned it over to an ally. But now Pell and others would like to offer the Soviets, who have been lusting for the gulf since Romanov days, a share of it. Gratis.

But the Democrats are not alone. Among the others warning to this idea is Howard Baker. "It's a unique arrangement that the Kuwaitis chose to invite both the United States and the Soviet Union to share the responsibility for assuring the passage of oil tankers to the Persian Gulf," he offered. "That's a real first . . . I think it is clearly not a bad thing." If this was an off-the-cuff remark, it shows an amazing lack of seriousness by the vaunted new Administration team. And if

what Baker enunciated was a decided change in American policy, it constitutes a far-reaching and gratuitous American capitulation.

Have the Democrats or the Administration thought through the implications of a "U.N. action" or of cooperation with the Soviets? One suspects they have. Congress is obsessed that the Persian Gulf may be a new Gulf of Tonkin. The Administration is obsessed that it may be a new Lebanon. Everybody is looking for a way out.

But if the United States is not going to defend its allies and interests in the Persian Gulf, then where? The gulf is the one area declared by the last Democratic President to be such a vital American interest that he pledged—this is the Carter Doctrine—American military action, if necessary, to secure the gulf.

Those advocating retreat, in its various camouflages, ought not to be debating whether our defense budget should be \$303 billion or \$289 billion. Three billion ought to be quite enough to maintain all that their foreign policy would require: a few nuclear missiles and a Coast Guard to patrol the Florida Keys.

—By Charles Krauthammer

Milestones

EXPECTING. Amy Grant, 25, evangelical pop singer (*Find a Way*), and her musical collaborator and husband of five years, Singer-Songwriter Gary Chapman, 29: their first child; in early fall.

BORN. To Dick Smothers, 47, perennial straight man of the comic Smothers Brothers, and his wife Lorraine Martin, 28: their first child (he has three from a previous marriage); in Las Vegas, where the brothers are performing. Name: Sarah Alexandra. Weight: 6 lbs. 15 oz.

MARRIED. Jean Smart, 35, comely actress of stage and television who co-stars on the CBS sitcom *Designing Women* as sly office manager Charlene Frazier; and Richard Gilliland, 37, who plays J.D. Shackleford, boyfriend of Smart's co-star Anne Potts on the same series; both for the second time; in Los Angeles.

MARRIED. A.M. Rosenthal, 65, columnist and former executive editor of the *New York Times*; and Shirley Lord, 53, novelist (*One of My Very Best Friends*) and a senior editor of *Vogue*; he for the second time, she for the fourth; in New York City.

AILING. Paul Gann, 75, conservative tax crusader who in 1978 co-sponsored (with Howard Jarvis) California's property-tax-cutting Proposition 13 and in later years led ballot fights to limit state and local spending; with acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, contracted from blood transfusions he received during open-heart surgery in 1982; in Carmichael, Calif.

HOSPITALIZED. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr., 72, son of the 32nd President and Democratic Congressman representing New York's 20th District from 1949 to 1954; in critical but improving condition following surgery after he, Wife Linda, 47, and Son Jack, 9, were thrown from a horse-drawn cart on their farm in Millbrook, N.Y.; in Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

DIED. Maurizio Vitale, 41, Italian clothing magnate, who outraged the Vatican in the early 1970s by pairing bulging buttocks and parodies of Christian teachings in ads for his Jesus Jeans; of AIDS; in Turin, Italy. Never publicity shy, Vitale followed up a \$100 million 1979 jeans-and-jacket sale to the Soviet

Union by becoming official supplier of off-track uniforms to the 1984 U.S. Olympic team.

DIED. Elizabeth Hartman, 45, high-strung, red-haired actress of stage and screen who won quick fame in 1966 with an Academy Award nomination for her role in the film *A Patch of Blue* and subsequently co-starred in *The Group* (1966), *The Fixer* (1968) and *Walking Tall* (1973), as well as a 1969 Broadway revival of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*; in an apparent suicide leap from her fifth-floor apartment; in Pittsburgh. Hartman was an outpatient of a Pittsburgh psychiatric hospital, where she was being treated for depression that reportedly stemmed from the decline of her acting career.

DIED. Richard Roth Sr., 82, New York City architect and chairman of the board of Emery Roth & Sons, the firm that helped transform the Manhattan skyline with such glass-and-steel monoliths as the World Trade Center towers (1973) and the Pan Am Building (1963); of a heart attack; in New York City.



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